











THE  
**British Critic,**  
QUARTERLY THEOLOGICAL REVIEW  
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ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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3 among you, and be clean, and change your garments: And let us arise, and go up to Beth-el; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and  
4 was with me in the way which I went. And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which *were* in their hand, and *all their earrings which were* in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which *was* by Shechem.

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THE  
BRITISH CRITIC,  
**Quarterly Theological Review,**  
AND  
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

XXIII  
C. 23.  
JANUARY, 1834.

ART. I.—*Library of Useful Knowledge. A History of the Church, from the earliest Ages to the Reformation.* By the Rev. George Waddington, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Ferring, in the Cathedral Church of Chichester. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London. Baldwin and Cradock. 1833.

WE are exceedingly happy to find that a History of the Church of Christ has been thought worthy of a place among the designs of a Society for the diffusion of *Useful Knowledge*. It is something, at least, to see that an acquaintance with the purposes and dealings of Almighty God, as concerning the destinies of man's immortal spirit, has found sufficient favour with the patrons of intellectual improvement, to be set down upon their catalogue of *useful things*. The Association in question leaves no branch of mere sublunary lore untouched. The laws and combinations of the material Universe—the conflicts of earthly passion—the rise and progress, the decline and fall, of stupendous empires—all these, and other subjects manifold which relate to the secular and transitory interests of man—might reasonably be expected to invite the excursive genius which presides over the deliberations of the Body in question. That they would be prepared to explore the labyrinth of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, however, was not by any means so confidently to be expected. But so it is—and we have here before us the fruits of their comprehensive care, in “*A History of the Church, from the earliest Ages to the time of the Reformation.*”

But if the original announcement of such a design looked well, it looked still better that the individual selected for the office of Historian was a Presbyterian of the Church of England. And all who were anxious for the literary honour of the Church of England, could not be otherwise than highly gratified, on finding that

the choice had fallen on a person of Mr. Waddington's eminent reputation. Mr. Waddington is well known to the world as an enterprising traveller, and a profound scholar; as a man splendidly distinguished for the energy of his mind, and the variety of his acquirements. His very name is sufficient to satisfy us, that the business would be undertaken and executed with unflinching integrity and courage; that the stores of sacred learning would be investigated with unwearied industry; and that the result would be an intrepid exhibition of those views, whatever they might be, which should unfold themselves to his perception in the course of his researches.

Taking it as a whole, his performance has certainly not disappointed us. It is, unquestionably, an extraordinary work;—a *very* extraordinary work, when we recollect that the composition of it cannot well have occupied more than five or six years. The toil of consulting such a vast mass of writings, and of producing, in so short a period, a condensed, interesting, and perspicuous recital, from these enormous materials,—must have been immense. In truth, the Ecclesiastical History of 1500 years is a task by no means too great for nearly the whole life of any individual. And even if any individual had a whole life to devote to it, it would demand all his energies of thought, and all his powers of application; and these directed by a constant sense of the necessity of guidance from above. It really does appear to us that if such a work were demanded within a limited time, it could be fitly executed in no other way than that which was adopted by King James's translators of the Bible. Certain portions of it should be assigned to different persons respectively, all of them eminently gifted for the office; and each portion should be subjected to careful examination and revision by the whole body. In the present instance, however, the undivided labour has been thrown upon one man; and this one man has been required to complete his gigantic task, within a period suitable to the designs of the Society which employed him. And it is no more than justice to say, that there are probably very few men living who could, within that period, have fulfilled the engagement, as it has been fulfilled by Mr. Waddington. We have no doubt that the volume before us will not only maintain his renown for ability and learning, but very signally advance it. Most assuredly it must secure him an honourable place among the masters of historical narration. His style is, throughout, remarkable for its freedom and its vigour. He has much of that philosophical sagacity which is among the highest attributes of an historian. And the result has been, that, although his work can hardly be considered as more than an abridgment, it is yet

not chargeable with the dryness and the saplessness which usually give an evil name to that meagre species of compilation.

It would be altogether a vain thing to attempt a complete analysis or profound examination of a work like this, within the limits of a Critical Essay. We must, accordingly, content ourselves with such scattered notices as may suit the limits of our space. And, in the first place, we have to remark, with decided approbation, the arrangement of his materials, adopted by Mr. Waddington. "I have," he says, "abandoned the method of division by centuries, which has too long perplexed Ecclesiastical History; and have endeavoured to regulate the partition by the dependence of connected events, and by the momentous revolutions which have arisen from it. It is one advantage of this plan, that it has frequently enabled me to collect under one head, to digest by a single effort, and present in one uninterrupted view, materials bearing in reality upon the same point; but which, by the more usual method, are separated and distracted." Undoubtedly it would be very difficult to assign any intelligible reason why the History of the Church, any more than the History of States, should be cut up into portions, equal to each other in nothing but length of time. If the sudden disruption of a connected series of events is an intolerable inconvenience in the one case, it must be an equally intolerable inconvenience in the other.

But to come to matters of more vital importance;—the next thing which solicits our notice, in the performance of Mr. Waddington, is, the peculiar type and character of his Church principles. It seems tolerably evident to us, that he belongs to that class, which is generally known by the name of moderate or liberal Churchmen. And, when we speak of liberal Churchmen, we wish not to be understood as using this phrase in any offensive acceptation; most certainly in no acceptation which can imply any question of the author's historical integrity. If Mr. Waddington is a liberal Churchman, we presume that he is so, because the views of liberal Churchmanship are those which he deliberately and conscientiously approves, as most in harmony with the spirit and the principles of the religion of which he is a minister. It so happens, however, that *we* belong to the class which is pretty generally known by the title of Illiberal Churchmen. And we hold it right to make this avowal in the outset of our remarks, albeit we have before our eyes a somewhat formidable denunciation of the folly inherent in that unpopular class. "It has *generally*," says Mr. Waddington, in his account of the Great Schism, "been the error of *High Churchmen*, to advance the loftiest pretensions at the most unseasonable moments; and, instead of receding at a crisis of violence and danger, to rush, *with a sort of*

*effeminate rashness*, into perils which would not otherwise have reached them." (p. 536.) Truly, these be ominous and alarming syllables! But alas! our temerity is incorrigible. We protest that, even in these threatening times, we have no thought of *receding* from the ground, which, according to our judgment and belief, it is our duty to occupy and to maintain. And we trust that Mr. Waddington will freely forgive us for this honest declaration. For we never can believe that his liberality has any alliance whatever with that spirit of one-sided *reciprocity*, which is sometimes found to disfigure the symmetry of liberal principles. The freedom which he claims for himself, he will, both cheerfully and generously, be ready to concede to others.

In order to verify our surmises respecting the complexion of Mr. Waddington's ecclesiastical views, we would advert to his notions on the subject of Church Government. That, in one sense, and to a certain extent, he is a conscientious *Episcopalian*, there can be no doubt. It is clear that he considers the Episcopal regimen as by no means in opposition to the will of God. It is, further, clear that he regards it as the mode of government of all others the best fitted for the purpose of consolidating the strength, and securing the stability, of the Church. But then, it is, we think, almost equally clear, that he does *not* consider the Episcopal Constitution as the only safe and legitimate constitution of Christian societies. If he were to be entrusted with the formation of a new Christian community, he would, we question not, sincerely and ardently recommend that its spiritual affairs should be placed under the direction of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. But this recommendation—unless we grievously mistake him—would be prompted, not so much by a conviction that Episcopacy was a Divine, or, at least, an Apostolical Institution, as by a persuasion that it would be exceedingly rash and injudicious to make trial of any other. We, on the contrary, if placed in a similar situation, should lament and resist any departure from the primitive form of government, not merely as an abandonment of the wisdom of antiquity, but as an exceedingly dangerous, if not positively heretical, violation of the original Apostolic discipline. In so doing, we might probably put into violent commotion whatever elements of liberalism might happen to be lurking in our infant colony. But still, we trust that, although we might not be able to reckon on the support of Mr. Waddington to the full extent of our own persuasions, *he* would be far from joining in the violent outcry against the narrowness and bigotry of our prejudices.

An instance, in illustration of *his own* notions respecting the primitive government of the Church, occurs very early in his

work. He appears to consider it as *beyond all question* that the Episcopal form was not established at Corinth in the year 95 of the Christian æra. (p. 12.) Now, if he is right in this persuasion, it is obvious that a considerable breach will have been effected in the argument, by which it is contended that Episcopacy is essential to the formation of a Christian Church. The adversaries of Episcopacy have been often challenged to produce an instance of any one Church, since the time of the Apostles, which has been regulated by any but Episcopal discipline. And this challenge has now been answered by Mr. Waddington. The Church of Corinth, he tell us, was not ordered by Episcopal discipline, at a period distant by nearly one hundred years from the birth of Christ. He does not speak of it as a doubtful matter. He does not content himself with saying that it is impossible to prove that bishops *were* then fixed in the diocese, or the province, of Corinth. His words are,—“the Episcopal form of government was *clearly not yet here established.*” As this is a question of no ordinary importance, Mr. Waddington, we are sure, will pardon us for devoting some sentences to the examination of it.\*

The occasion which calls forth this assertion from Mr. Waddington was as follows: the Christians of Corinth seemed to have retained their factious and turbulent habits, even after their conversion to the faith of the Gospel. It is well known that their dissensions required the controlling hand of St. Paul. And it further appears that, towards the end of the first century—(though the date of the occurrence has been much disputed)—the spirit of sedition again broke out among them, and manifested itself in the deposition of certain of their ministers. This violent proceeding was of course attended by much confusion in the Church; and a deputation was, in consequence, despatched to Clemens, Bishop of Rome, probably to solicit his friendly mediation. The application was kindly entertained by the bishop, and produced his celebrated Epistle to the Corinthians.

Upon this transaction the following are the remarks of our historian. We should here observe—he says—that the Epistle is written in the name of the Church sojourning at Rome, not in that of a Roman bishop; that its character is of exhortation, not of authority; and that it is in answer to a communication originally made by the Church of Corinth. And then immediately follows the confident assertion, that “the Episcopal form of government *was clearly not yet here established.*” We know not

\* This point has already been discussed, with eminent learning and ability, by a writer in a contemporary journal, the *British Magazine* for Sept. 1833, p. 299—308. We, nevertheless, do not feel ourselves absolved from the duty of offering some remarks upon it here.

whether Mr. Waddington ventures on this assertion as an obvious and irresistible inference from his own statement, which immediately precedes it. If he does—we can only say, on our parts, that we are utterly at a loss to imagine how the premises and the conclusion were brought together. Here is an Epistle addressed by the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth, without any mention of a bishop of either place, upon the face of its title. If, then, we are to conclude from this, that there was, at that period, no bishop at Corinth, we might just as reasonably conclude that there was no bishop at Rome. Such a conclusion, however, we happen to know, would be false with respect to Rome. Why then is the same conclusion to be admitted as indisputable with respect to Corinth? Neither can we perceive any thing in the admonitory tone of the address which points to any inference either one way or the other. Whether a bishop were at Corinth, or not,—in what other language, but that of friendly exhortation, would a Bishop of Rome express himself, in those primitive days, to the Christians of another Church? The Bishop of Rome, at that time, neither exercised nor claimed authority over any other community. His interference, therefore, whether requested by the Corinthians or not, would naturally come in the form of brotherly mediation, rather than that of official superiority.

But then—Mr. Waddington adds—the Episcopal form of government was probably “adverse to the republican spirit of Greece.” And yet—even if this were so—it is a marvellous thing that Corinth should be the only instance that can be produced, in which the republican spirit arrayed itself, from the very first, against the establishment of Episcopacy. Equally strange is it that, having once resisted the establishment of Episcopacy, it should afterwards endure the introduction of that regimen. The matter may be stated thus: either the Episcopal form was, at least, of Apostolic institution, or it was not. If it was, it is scarcely credible that even “the republican spirit of Greece” should have been strong enough to prevail against it in Apostolic times. If it was not,—if forms of Church government were, from the beginning, mere matters of indifference—what should we expect, but that ecclesiastical polity would flexibly accommodate itself to all the varieties of local and civil polity throughout the world? And yet the Church of Corinth is the one, solitary Church, respecting which alone Mr. Waddington can venture to pronounce, that the government of bishops was *not* established there, towards the close of the first century.\*

\* In p. 200, indeed, Mr. Waddington speaks of “one or two exceptions;” but he does not specify the *second*.

In fact, the utmost that can possibly be said, respecting the case of Corinth, is, that we are not in possession of any recorded proof that this Church was, at that period, under the government of bishops. At all events Mr. Waddington assuredly has produced nothing which can entitle him to assume it as *clear* that episcopacy was *not* established there. If, however, we are to come to mere presumptions, we may very confidently aver that all the presumptions are decidedly adverse to the conclusion of Mr. Waddington. It is distinctly acknowledged by himself (note, p. 23,) that the power of ordination was derived from the Apostles, and was at no time claimed by any order inferior to that of bishops. And if this be so, it is scarcely conceivable that the church of Corinth should remain so long without that class of ministers, whose function was necessary for so important a purpose. All those Churches, the history of which has been distinctly preserved to us, are known to have been under the direction of such ministers. Not a single Church, whether great or small, has ever been named, of which history informs us in positive terms, that it ever was subjected to any other government. And, when, in addition to this, we find it expressly affirmed in the 44th section of the epistle of St. Clement, that the ministerial succession was ordained by the Apostles themselves,—what is the *presumption*; but that this succession was maintained at Corinth, precisely in the same manner as it was maintained in every other Church, of which any detailed account has been preserved. Nay, it does appear to us that something more than presumption may be raised out of the very words of St. Clement, in the opening of his epistles, where he commends the Corinthians for the spirit of obedience for which they were distinguished, previously to the late unhappy commotions. “Ye walked,” he says, “according to the laws of God, being subject to your supreme rulers, and yielding due honour to the Elders, or Presbyters, among you.”\* Now the word ἡγούμενοι, here translated Supreme Rulers, answers very accurately to the English word *Prelate*; or to the Latin word *Præpositus*, which is applied by Cyprian to the Apostles themselves. And since St. Clement is here speaking of obedience, not in civil but ecclesiastical matters, the inevitable inference seems to be, that bishops were in his contemplation when he used this expression.

We are of course aware, that the offence of the seditious Corinthians was the expulsion of certain of their Presbyters. But Mr. Waddington cannot imagine that this circumstance is suffi-

† \* ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καὶ δέουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέροις,—Clem. Ep. Cor. s. 1.

cient to make it *clear*, that there were no Bishops in the Churches of Achaia which formed the Corinthian province. How can we be sure that these Presbyters (if not themselves Bishops) were not ejected by the people, in a fit of opposition to Episcopal authority? Such an outrage would be very much in character among the contumacious republicans of Greece. And if it should be said, that all this is but conjecture, our reply is, that it is conjecture supported by a vast body of overpowering presumption, derived from other sources; whereas the *clear* fact alleged by Mr. Waddington turns out, after all, to be nothing more than conjecture, not only unsupported by presumption, but in direct opposition to it.

We cannot quit this subject without remarking that, in p. 209, we find it intimated, that, "in the various conditions of Apostolical Christianity, the scattered elements of some forms of government and discipline may be observed, which, though they were very early *absorbed* by the Episcopal system, should not be passed over in silence; since they are still pleaded as precedents, and imitated as models, by many excellent Christians." Now, without any disposition to dispute the excellence of the Christians in question, we cannot but think it passing strange, that they should be able to contemplate, without some misgivings, this early and general process of *absorption*. If their own forms of government be right and scriptural, this early *absorption* must have been no less than one rapid, wide-spread, and unanimous abuse. With such persons, therefore, the case will stand thus:—They "plead as precedents, and they imitate as models," certain forms of government, of which there are various scattered notices in the history of Apostolical Christianity. But nevertheless it does so happen that all these alleged primitive institutions are little better than still-born. At most, they pass away like an untimely birth. They come to no maturity. They maintain a brief and sickly existence. They are then heard of no more. They are thrust aside, and consigned to oblivion, by a more vigorous and enterprising competitor for the birth-right. But, nevertheless, they rise again, after fifteen hundred years, to push the dominant hierarchy from their stools! There is something, we repeat, so utterly astounding in the notion of this precipitate and general defection from the aboriginal discipline,—this sudden loss and disappearance of primitive and venerated "models,"—and this potent *absorption*, by which they were all engulfed in the *rapids* of a different system,—that we really are scarcely able to image to ourselves the state of that mind which can endure the violence offered to it by so enormous an hypothesis.



After all, however, what are these pure forms of Ecclesiastical discipline, which float in the morning light of Apostolical Christianity? Surely not that form which towers into independence of all Apostolical succession whatever! For if we were to maintain this, we should be put to instant rebuke by the express language of the Apostolic father, St. Clement, who asserts, in the 44th section of his Epistle, that "the Apostles well knew, from the Lord Jesus himself, that strife would ensue respecting the name or dignity of the Superintendency (ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς); and having such perfect foreknowledge, they, for this cause, ordained the above-mentioned (viz. ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους); and next established a rule (ἐπινομήν), that when these should die, other approved men should succeed to their ministry." If, however, it be contended that the elements of the Presbyterian system, as exclusive of Episcopacy, are to be found in the primitive government of the Church, we can do no more, in these pages, than appeal to the writings of those who have faithfully and, as it appears to us, victoriously, combated that notion. In the mean time, however, with all our respect for Mr. Waddington, we must protest, most vehemently, against his concession to our adversaries, that the Church of Corinth was *clearly* a Presbyterian Church, in the time of St. Clement, the Apostolic Bishop of Rome.

We cannot forbear, in this place, to intimate our suspicions, that the enemies of the Episcopal regimen are in the habits of most egregiously mistaking its genuine character; and that this mistake disposes many among them to a favourable estimate of the project for re-collecting "the scattered elements of other forms of government," from the depths of Christian antiquity, and framing them into a system more propitious to the happiness and the freedom of mankind. Neither can we affect to be ignorant that the very Society, which have done themselves honour by selecting Mr. Waddington as their historian of the Church, are by no means supposed to be wholly exempt from the prejudice in question. We apprehend, at least, that there are individuals in that Body, who are very apt, in their own minds, to connect the cause of Episcopacy with that of tyranny; and, on the other hand, to associate the establishment of a more level platform with images of mental improvement and emancipation. Now, we conceive that it would signally aid "the diffusion of *useful* knowledge," to disabuse them of this most unjust and erroneous impression. And we do verily believe that few men are, in fact, better able to disabuse them than Mr. Waddington. He is, we have not the slightest doubt, an ardent lover of his country, and an inflexible friend to the cause of civil and religious liberty

throughout the world. But then, he must know very well, that there is nothing whatever in the original institution of Episcopacy, which frowns upon the civil and religious liberties of man. He can tell the patrons of "useful knowledge" that the authority of a Bishop is not the authority of a despot—not the authority of a *Lord over the heritage*. Neither is the obedience of the clergy to their spiritual rulers, the slavish submission of men who hold a delegated trust at the caprice and discretion of their superior. The power of a Bishop is rather that of paternal influence than of lordly domination. And the obedience of the Presbyter is a duty rendered by him, not to the persons and the countenances of men, but to the holy Apostolic college, whose authority still lives in the persons of the successors of the Apostles. And if it should so happen, at any time, that the Bishops of a Protestant Church should forget the moderation which becomes their calling;—if they should attempt to violate the privileges of the inferior order;—in what quarter should we look for the most resolute and manful resistance to the usurpation? Most undoubtedly we should look for it among the highest Churchmen;—most undoubtedly we should look for it among those who are most profoundly conversant with the monuments and the practices of Christian antiquity. All this must, doubtless, be well known to Mr. Waddington. He himself reminds us that St. Cyprian, whose notions of Episcopal dignity were in some respects sufficiently exalted, was nevertheless accustomed, on almost every possible occasion, to consult his Presbyters before he acted. Circumstances, too various to be considered here, may have gradually led to a discontinuance of this practice, in more modern times. But who can ever imagine that any learned or enlightened Presbyter of the Church of England would object to its revival, if circumstances were to render it practicable or convenient? We trust that Mr. Waddington will agree with us that nothing can be more ridiculous than the vulgar notion, that an Episcopal Church is necessarily a school of servility. The *true* Churchman will stand up for the Presbyterate, as sturdily as for the Episcopate. No person, therefore, is less likely than he, to imbibe any abject prejudices in favour of arbitrary power.

We are confirmed in our hope that Mr. Waddington's sentiments, relative to this matter, are essentially in harmony with our own, by his distinct testimony to that spirit of freedom which breathed through the religion of Christ, under the administration of the primitive Episcopal Church. His words are these:—

"It is true that, in becoming acquainted with the strength of Christianity, he (the Emperor Constantine,) also discovered its virtues. In the excellence of the Christian system he perceived a great omen of its

perpetuity. He saw too, that as a rule for civilized society, it was more efficient than any human law, because more powerful in its motives to obedience. And perhaps he remarked also that the energy of Christians had hitherto been confined to submission and endurance; to unoffending, unresisting perseverance. And this outward display of loyalty might lead him to overlook that *free spirit* which pervaded both the principles of the religion and the government of the Church; and which, in later ages, was so commonly found in opposition to despotism."—pp. 80, 81.

Once more—

"It was immediately after this event" (the restoration of Athanasius to the episcopal throne of Alexandria, in the year 349,) "that Constantius succeeded to the Western Empire; and in his zeal for the propagation of Arianism he presently renewed his attacks on Athanasius. He summoned Councils of the Western Bishops; he menaced and caressed and corrupted the Bishops whom he had summoned, and at length (in the year 356) with great difficulty succeeded in deposing for the third time his spiritual adversary.

"This struggle must not be past over with slight notice, since it presents to us an event, of which there had yet been no experience in the history of the Church, or in the history of Rome, or perhaps in the history of man. Hitherto, at least till a very short time previous, the Church had been a despised and seemingly defenceless community, subject, as a Body, to the capricious insults of every tyrant, and liable, in its individual members, to his arbitrary inflictions. Until very lately, the Emperor of the Roman world possessed authority uncontrolled over the liberty and life of his subjects, undisputed by any, except as rebels, or rivals for the throne. And certainly the monstrous evils of despotic government have never been more signally displayed, than during the dreary interval which separated Augustus and Constantine. Still at the end of that period the rules of government remained the same as at the beginning—no civil revolution had assigned limits to the authority of the Prince, or introduced any counteracting power—no political change had given weight to popular opinion or honour to free principles. And yet scarcely forty years from the accession of Constantine had elapsed, when we behold his son and successor reduced to the employment of intrigue and artifice, for the deposition of a magistrate whom he detested. The singularity of this circumstance is even increased by two other considerations—one of which is, that the Emperor had the cordial support of a considerable portion of his subjects, the Arian party, in this contest—and the other, that his adversary was not sustained by any armed force of soldiers or followers; nor is it probable even that his violent execution would have been followed by any serious insurrection. Yet Constantius, with a prudent respect both for the spiritual authority of the Bishop and the rights of the Church, proceeded to the accomplishment of his object by indirect and tedious and unworthy methods. Such circumstances become indeed familiar to us in the pages of later history; but we should not for that reason overlook their first occurrence, nor fail to record with pleasure and gratitude the earliest proof we possess of the

*political effect of Christianity in moderating the despotism with which it was associated.*"—pp. 96, 97.

Here we have another candid and most honourable testimony to the "*free spirit* which pervaded the Christian system;" and this, too, at a time when episcopal government had been universal throughout Christendom for three centuries. In after days, indeed, Episcopacy became a much more imperious and lordly thing than it was during the Ante-Nicene period, and even for a considerable time subsequently to that period. But we are not contending for this, or for any other of the manifold abuses and corruptions, which, in the course of ages, gathered round the Church. We are contending, purely, for the honour of genuine paternal Episcopacy. We are contending for it, as it has existed, and as it always may exist,—whether in its original and unendowed simplicity; or whether it lift its mitred head in the palaces of kings. It is true that wealth, and grandeur, and ample jurisdiction, *may*, in the lapse of time, become almost fatally injurious to that spirit of moderation, which ought to distinguish the rulers of a spiritual kingdom; so that, at length, an unbecoming loftiness of expression may steal over the features of the Christian prelacy; and tempt the ignorant to believe that the fathers of the church are, by their very calling, no better than the associates and the assessors of tyranny. But this is a gross and sweeping misconception, which nothing can more effectually dissipate than a profound acquaintance with the annals of the church. With all its perversions and corruptions, the episcopal church of Christ, as Mr. Waddington asserts, has been very commonly the adversary of despotism. And we may confidently add that, in proportion to its purity, the church will ever be the adversary of despotism;—whether the despotism be manifested in the person of an individual tyrant; or whether it appear in the shape of a certain ferocious monster, with a multitude of heads.

If we have dwelt longer upon this point than we first intended, our excuse must be found in the truly momentous nature of the question. We now proceed to other matters. In his fourth chapter Mr. Waddington considers the persecutions inflicted on Christianity by several of the Roman emperors. And he very properly begins by demolishing the insidious and contemptible absurdities which have been often vented, respecting the indulgent character of the classic polytheism. Indulgent enough, in one sense, that system unquestionably was. Where the standing army of divinities amounted to somewhere about thirty thousand, it is not to be supposed that a few supernumeraries would ever be regarded as a matter of much consequence. But yet—woe to that individual who should presume to augment, or to diminish,

the muster-roll, by a single name, without the formal sanction of the magistracy!

"The intrusion of one stranger," says Mr. Waddington, "would scarcely be noticed in the numerous synod of Mount Olympus. The golden portals were ever open. Useful virtue, or splendid vice, gave an equal claim to admission. The policy or servility of Rome bowed, with the same pliancy, to the captive gods of her enemies, or the manes of her imperial tyrants. This was not a virtue, but a *part*, of Polytheism. The new deities became new members of the same monstrous body. They assisted and sustained each other: and the whole mass was held together by ignorance, and animated by the gross spirit of superstition. It seems, indeed, that a pagan statesman, who may have permitted additions to the calendar of his gods, deserves no higher description of praise, than that which we should bestow on a pope, who has been zealous in the canonization of saints. For one idol will presently become as holy as another idol. Nor could any reason be given why Jove should scorn the society of Serapis, since their respective divinity was founded on the same evidence, and their worship conducted on the same principles."

This is a brief, but admirable and masterly statement of the whole matter. "The golden portals were ever open." But then comes the question,—were there no warders stationed at the "golden portals?" Open as they were, we are not to imagine that every individual was at liberty to introduce his god. No new divinity could gain admittance, without a ticket from the prætor or the ædile, the senate or the emperor. And when once admitted, he was allowed only to take his seat, quietly and sociably, among the vast populace of celestial tenants already in possession. He was not permitted to question the title, or disturb the repose, of any other occupant. In other words, all right of *private judgment* in matters of religion was utterly unknown in classic and pagan Rome. It is true that "the influx of idolaters, from every nation under heaven, made it difficult to preserve the purity (purity!) of the Roman religion." But what then? The Roman religion contrived still to preserve its own supremacy, and even to strengthen its Roman character, "by the successive and easy deification of the most vicious of mankind." This deification, however, was not the work of individual caprice or superstition. The establishment of gods was regulated by the same power as that which ordered the enrolment of legions!

In the midst of this state of things, a religion arises, which abjures all society with the rabblement of the pagan calendar: a religion which removed its votaries from the national altars, on pain of all the consequences due to impiety and apostacy: a religion which wielded no carnal weapons, indeed, for its own establishment or propagation; but which carried on a sort of

peaceful warfare against the dominant superstitions, by the spiritual implements of argument, of exhortation, and of entreaty. A faith like this wore the aspect of downright atheism in the eyes of the vulgar,—of audacious treason, in the estimation of the magistrate. To neglect the deities of the state, was to insult the established religion—to violate the law—and to defy the supreme authority of the republic or the empire. A man was no more at liberty to trifle with the ordinances relative to public worship and festivity, than he was at liberty to resist a decree of the senate, or a rescript of the sovereign, or to neglect any other duty of a citizen or a subject. And, under such circumstances as these, the profession of the Cross may almost be said to have fixed upon the Nazarenes the stamp of rebellion and of outlawry. Every Christian may almost be considered, at that period, as wearing what our law calls the *caput lupinum*. He was an object of contempt and outrage to the pagan multitude; and a victim of persecution, when the hand of the pagan ruler was stretched forth to vindicate the insulted majesty of Rome.

To talk, therefore, of the tolerance of the ancient Polytheism, is to talk of the tolerance which allows a man to keep one set of religious opinions for his private use, if he will but profess another set of opinions in public; or rather, if he will but virtually declare to the world, that he has no opinions at all, but is content to follow the customs of his ancestors. Undoubtedly, the Christians would have been as much at liberty to believe in their “crucified malefactor,” as the philosophers were at liberty to believe in no God whatever, if they would but have submitted to the same conditions as the philosophers; if they could but have purchased victims, and burned incense, and joined the idolatrous crowds before the altars and the temples. In other words, they might have been amply *tolerated*, if they would but have shown themselves ashamed of the Son of Man before the face of a sinful and adulterous generation. This sort of toleration was, of course, considered by the followers of Christ as nothing better than an invitation to apostacy: and the consequence was, that they were insulted, plundered, and massacred by the populace; and tossed to the lions, or cast into the flames, by the arm of imperial power.

We must here present our readers with some admirable reflections of Mr. Waddington, on the character and principles of the most philosophical and systematic of all the imperial persecutors:

“Marcus Antoninus undertook the task of ‘punishment’ or persecution among the earliest of his imperial duties, and he continued to fulfil it with unremitting diligence throughout the nineteen years of his

splendid administration. He acted on deliberate principles, and his principles were not of partial or local operation, but were equally applicable to every province of his empire. And thus he everywhere enforced the laws in their full severity; the lives and the property of the convicted were forfeited by the most summary process of justice; and the search which was made after the suspected, and which the uninformed humanity of Trajan had so nobly discouraged, sufficiently proves the activity of the pursuit and the earnestness of the pursuer. But the most important point of distinction is probably this: Marcus Antoninus knew much better the nature of the evil which he was committing: he was acquainted, to a certain extent, at least, with the opinions of the Christians, and the innocence of their character; and it is not likely that he had entirely neglected to examine the grounds of their faith. He watched the process of his own inflictions, and when he perceived the fortitude with which all endured, and the eagerness with which many courted them, he coldly reprov'd the unphilosophic enthusiasm of the martyrs. And yet, perhaps, his own philosophy was not quite devoid of enthusiasm, or, at least, it was not strictly regulated by reason, when it led him to labour for the destruction of the most moral and loyal portion of his subjects, only because they disclaimed the very superstitions which he placed his pride in despising. Nor again was his practice consistent with his professed contempt of these: for it is said, and seemingly on good foundation, that Marcus Antoninus was frequent in consultation with the Chaldæan sages, deeply conversant with the mysteries of astrology, credulously attentive to oracular prophecy, obedient to the premonitions of dreams, which he believed to descend from Heaven—assertions not incredible, nor inconsistent with his studies or his principles; and there is ground to hesitate whether we should not rather convict him of superstition than hypocrisy. But it is certain that his understanding was of the broadest and most comprehensive description; that it was enlightened by every worldly knowledge, and fortified by frequent meditation; that his character was founded in excellent dispositions, confirmed by the best principles which were known to the Pagan world. His general regard for justice has never been questioned; even his humanity is commonly celebrated; and if the representations of history be not exaggerated, he reached as high a degree both of wisdom and of moral excellence as is attainable by the unassisted faculties of man—and yet this prince polluted every year of a long reign with innocent blood.

“In our natural anxiety to honour every form of human excellence, we search for his excuse in the religious policy so long established in the empire. But we find that those of his predecessors, who were disposed to soften or suspend its operation upon Christians, possessed the power to do so; and we cannot doubt that the despotic authority of Marcus would have enabled him to revise or repeal those oppressive statutes, if he had learnt from the books of his philosophers the virtue or the meaning of Toleration. This, indeed, is the real and only ground of his defence; and we shall regard his conduct with less indignation, if we reflect how feeble were the mightiest principles of conduct with which

he was acquainted; on what a loose and shifting foundation they rested; how large was the class of virtues which they did not comprehend, and how imperfect were the motives which they proposed for the practice of any. And thus considered, we shall discover, perhaps, some trace of heavenly providence in the circumstance, that the imperial philosopher, flourishing in the maturity of his science, and deficient in nothing which nature or man could bestow, was armed with the highest temporal authority and permitted to direct it against the *infancy* of our faith. From the splendid imperfection of Marcus Antoninus, from the perseverance of his powerful enmity, from its final failure, we may learn what narrow limits have been assigned to the virtue and wisdom and power of unassisted man; and we derive a new motive of gratitude for that heavenly aid, which has fixed our social happiness on a certain and eternal foundation."—pp. 47—49.

Aye—this is, indeed, a most overpowering exhibition of the heaven-descended might of the Everlasting Gospel! Here was all the power, all the wisdom, all the virtue (such as it was)—that could, by possibility, be concentrated in the person of one heathen man,—directed, for a series of years, against the truth of God: and this too, not in fitful bursts of angry despotism, but with sustained, deliberate, unimpassioned steadiness. And what was all this—but the beating of the daily tide against the imperishable Rock?

The persecution of Diocletian was so atrociously severe, that the heathens flattered themselves that the extirpation of Christianity had been, at last, accomplished. And, to the eternal disgrace of *man's wisdom*, the foremost instigators of that persecution were the philosophers;—the philosophers who, (as Mr. Waddington observes,) were perpetually lavishing all the resources of their sagacity and wit in exposing the multiform absurdities of polytheism;—the philosophers, of whom Tertullian exclaimed, *quiniò et Deos vestros palàm destruunt,—laudentibus vobis!* Well may the church of God be likened to an anvil, on which hammers of every form, and material, and weight, are sure to be broken in the end. The work was plied for three whole centuries, sometimes by monsters of vice, sometimes by prodigies of *wisdom*, and of *virtue*. Characters of every description, "from the highest moral and intellectual excellence, down to the lowest imaginable turpitude," took counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed: and the Lord had them in derision.

Upon the controversy, relative to the number of the Martyrs, Mr. Waddington has, judiciously enough, bestowed only a single note. One cause of exaggeration, he observes, may have been, that the term *martyr* (witness) was, in the early church,



indiscriminately extended to all, whose religion had exposed them to *any* infliction; such as loss of property or liberty; a class of sufferers now usually called *confessors*. The question is of no great importance. Let the *extenuators* have it their own way. Let the glory of *martyrdom* be refused to all, except those who perished by famine, or by fire, or by the sword. That the number of *sufferers* was frightfully great, must still remain indisputable; unless we are to consider insult, and destitution, and captivity, as light afflictions: to say nothing of that *daily death* inflicted by the incessant terror of impending outrage. In one sense, it may be affirmed, that the church, collectively, was in a state of perpetual martyrdom for three hundred years: for, during that period, the church bore witness to the truth, in the midst of continued peril. She trod, at every step, over secret fires, which frequently burst forth to torment, though not consume her. But, when we meditate upon this subject, never let us forget the perfidious inconsistency of Gibbon. In order to reduce the amount of Diocletian's victims, he applies the trifling portion who perished in Palestine, as a probable measure of the numbers who suffered in other provinces of the Roman Empire. "In other places," says Mr. Waddington, "he is forward enough to acknowledge the narrow limits, and to extenuate the population of Palestine." But, nevertheless, when it suits his insidious purpose, he can resort to Palestine as a test of transactions which took place throughout a large portion of the globe: and this he could do, although "he was not ignorant, that even the proportion of Christians in that country was less than that in any other province!"

The 7th chapter is devoted to the Arian Controversy. And here, as elsewhere, the pen of Mr. Waddington marches with its usual freedom and power. For ourselves, we can scarcely forbear to regret that it has not taken something of a wider range through this awful and interesting region. The Arian heresy, indeed, is now pretty well consigned to the place of forgotten things. But it was a tremendous phenomenon in its time: one of the most awful that ever arose to afflict and dismay the church. Its appearance has always been reckoned among the critical and fiery trials of Christianity. And there is one peculiarity of it, which must always render its history singularly and fearfully instructive, namely, that it was covered over, if not with names of blasphemy, at least with the most glaring marks of human arrogance and self-sufficiency. Nothing is better known, respecting the masters of the Arian school, than their habitual and almost unlimited reliance on their own powers of reasoning,

and their utter disregard of ancient and primitive authority. Another remarkable characteristic of it was, that Arianism was a monster with many horns; and that those horns had the convenient faculty of sprouting up, successively, as the exigencies and dangers of the season seemed to require; so that, if one were cut away, another was ready to spring up in its place. Every one must be aware, that the orthodox of that period complained, that no capricious testator ever altered his will so often and so suddenly as the Arians altered their creed. How many different schemes of belief were ever put forth by this pertinacious and multiform heresy, it might be difficult to say. It is certain, however, that they were sufficient in number to exemplify the prodigious versatility of error, and to display that activity of evolution of which the human mind is capable, when closely pressed by the pursuit of truth. It, therefore, appears to us, that a somewhat more ample exposition of this subject might have furnished an advantageous field for the powers of Mr. Waddington, without trespassing very formidably upon the limits of his design.

We can sympathise very cordially with him, in thinking that it would have been a signal mercy to the church, if she could have been spared the misery and distraction incident to this controversy. According to the shallow judgments of our poor humanity, at least, it might have been well if Christians could have been content to the end of time, to consider the name of Jesus, as a name at which every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and this, without dragging each other to the torture of a verbal exposition, relative to the precise nature of the relation between the Father and the Son. But alas! all Ecclesiastical History seems to be one continual and portentous commentary on the words of the Apostle—*there must be heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest*. And this controversy having once arisen, it should never be forgotten that it related to a matter, in itself of most stupendous solemnity. It may be true that there is something almost ludicrous, *when considered by itself*, in the artifice of the Semi-Arians, when they thought to gain their point merely by the sly introduction of a single *iôta*, thus converting *ὁμοούσιος* into *ὁμοιούσιος*. But when we recollect that the question which then agitated the world concerned no less a matter than the dignity and essence of Him, who is *the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*, and that the very vitals of the controversy were, in truth, involved in this single *iôta*, when we recollect this, the spirit of levity and derision is instantly rebuked

to silence. Again, the personal quarrels and mutual recriminations of the Nicene Bishops, at the opening of the synod—the microscopic subtlety of the various disputants—the revelry of evil passions which the conflict let loose upon the empire,—all these become fit subjects for melancholy contemplation, rather than for scornful and sarcastic exposure, when once we call to mind the topic which men at that time were bandying from mouth to mouth, even the mysterious and tremendous majesty of the only begotten Son of God. With these impressions on our mind, we could have been well content with the absence of a quotation from Jortin, at present in the pages of Mr. Waddington; a quotation which exhibits the prelates of the Nicene Council as influenced by almost every imaginable variety of contemptible motive. And, further, in a future edition of this work, we would gladly see expunged a note in p. 97, in which, after speaking of Homousians, and Homoi-ousians, and Anomoians, and Eunomians, the author adds, “*the unimportance of the verbal difference might provoke our ridicule*, did we not reflect how much the angry application of those terms tended to prolong and embitter the controversy.” Of course the protraction, and the exasperation of the dispute, are, of themselves, abundantly sufficient to repress any feeling of *ridicule*. But, independently of this consideration, *ridicule*, as we contend, is an emotion *altogether* out of place, when the nature and attributes of the Redeemer of the World are under consideration, whatever may have been the folly or the intemperance of the combatants. With regard to the passage from Jortin, indeed, justice requires us to observe that Mr. Waddington has very properly qualified the words of that caustic and flippant, we had almost said heartless, writer, by adding, that,—

“Among so many assembled there, many there must have been of sincere intention and earnest piety; and, certainly, several well instructed in the learning of that age; and the excellence of these persons doubtless so influenced the general character of the Council, that, though unable to repress the intemperate violence of some of its members, they were sufficient to conduct it to that decision, which has now been followed by the great majority of Christians for fifteen centuries.”

One disastrous effect of this controversy was, that it made the Christian world familiar with the most sanguinary principles of intolerance. And, in the application of these principles, the heretics, in the day of their predominance, were, to say the least, quite as active as their Catholic antagonists. “The

path of intolerance," says Mr. Waddington, "which had been pointed out, and abandoned, by Constantine, was steadily followed by his heretical successor, Constantius, and trodden, with equal diligence, in the Eastern Empire, by Valens." And deplorable was the alacrity with which the people seconded the persecuting energies of their Imperial patrons. It is, indeed, generally allowed, that the Arians were throughout remarkable for their disingenuousness, their untractableness, their turbulence, and their readiness to launch the spiritual thunders at the head of their adversaries. There is one circumstance, more especially, in their history, which it is impossible to contemplate without the deepest indignation. We allude to the elevation of George of Cappadocia to the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The man, who was thus chosen by the Arian faction to fill the throne of Athanasius, was among the most worthless and profligate of mankind. This appears, not *only* from "the invectives of two Saints," (Gregory Nazianzen and Epiphanius,) "which," we are told,\* "might not of themselves deserve much credit:" but it so happens, that their testimony is "confirmed by the cool and impartial infidel," Ammianus Marcellinus. And a more revolting spectacle can scarcely be imagined than that of a fraudulent contractor for the supply of bacon to the army,—a monster of sensuality and avarice,—one who was resolved to be rich, and was contented to be infamous,—advanced, at last, by the basest arts to the Archiepiscopal chair of Egypt.\* And this, for no intelligible reason, save that the heretics beheld, in his former life, the promise that he would become an unsparing and remorseless persecutor. This promise was indeed fulfilled to an extent that was little thought of by the Arian party. "The Catholics of Alexandria," says Gibbon, "were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified by nature and education for the office of persecution." But his oppressions and atrocities were, at least, impartial. They were practised alike throughout his vast diocese, with little regard to the distinctions of faith and doctrine: till, at last, the justice of heaven was vindicated by the impatience of the multitude, and St. George of Cappadocia was massacred as an enemy to God and man.

It must be confessed that one of "*the two Saints*," who have described George of Cappadocia as a monster, has been scarcely more complimentary to the great heresiarch himself. By Gregory Nazianzen, Arius is represented as one whose very name

\* Gibbon, c. xxiii. note 118.

† See Gregor. Naz. Orat. xxi. where "*the Saint*" describes George as a monster and a pest, who came down upon the land, like an Egyptian plague, to the general calamity of the Church.

indicated the destructive violence and fury of his nature,—as a tornado of iniquity,—as a consummation of all impiety,—as a tongue at perpetual enmity with Christ,—as a mind which hurled its unrighteousness towards heaven,—as the persecutor of the Divinity,—and, to crown all, as resembling Judas in his character and his fate.\* A much more favourable representation of him is given by the other of these *Saints*,† and has been transcribed by Mr. Waddington into his pages. With this we have no fault whatever to find. But it does strike us, that, if we are to be told of the stately figure of Arius, of his grave but yet engaging deportment, his winning eloquence, his consummate address, and his masterly insight into human character,—space might also have easily been found for some adequate description of the genius, the virtues, the labours, and the constancy, of the mighty champion of the Catholic cause. Gibbon himself is compelled to do ample, and even splendid, justice to the merits of Athanasius; and to Gibbon, accordingly, our historian has referred his readers in a note. But still we cannot but think that a writer, who felt himself called upon to exhibit an advantageous portraiture of the heresiarch, might likewise have assigned a somewhat more spacious niche to the renowned and inflexible champion of orthodoxy. Our readers, therefore, will perhaps forgive us, if we presume to supply the deficiency, by exhibiting a representation of this illustrious man, as executed by Gregory Nazianzen.

“Athanasius,” says that eloquent father, “was exalted in his life, but lowly in his temper. His virtue was so sublime that none could aspire to rival it; while, at the same time, such was his courtesy and mildness, such his freedom from anger, such his propensity towards compassion, that he was at all times accessible to those who sought his intercourse. His conversation was pleasing; his manners still more engaging. His aspect was angelic; and still more angelic was his disposition. His rebuke was gentle: his praises carried with them all the power and weight of instruction. Each was so tempered, that neither of them was weakened by excess. His reproof conveyed the impression of paternal tenderness; his commendation had all the gravity which becomes imperial command. His demeanor had nothing in it of unmanly softness, or of rigorous and forbidding sternness. His gentleness won for him the reputation of benignity; his severity that of prudence and of judgment; and each of them were honoured with the praise of wisdom. So awful was the sanctity of his life, that it might well dispense with all the aids of eloquence. So commanding was his power of utterance, that the rod of authority was quiescent in his hand; or if, at any time, it became needful, it effected the work of correction, not with fierce laceration, but with a gentle touch . . . . . When he perceived that the whole world was in danger of being torn to pieces by a conflict about syllables, he mildly and benignantly brought both parties

\* Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. xxiii.

† Epiphan. Heres. 69.

before him ; and, making all practicable concession, relative to the use of words, he bound down the disputants to the matter and substance of the controversy. The glory of his patience, in the work of reconciliation, far excelled the renown of his sufferings, and his preachings,—of his vigils and austerities,—and even of his exile and his wanderings. He was, to the last, unwearied in his application to men of every temper. Some he animated with his praises ; others he repressed with light and gentle correction. The sluggish he excited, and kept down the impetuous. He was incessantly careful that the feeble might not slip, and that the fallen might be raised up. In his personal manners, he was simple ; in the arts of government, inexhaustibly various. His words were wise, his soul was still more rich in wisdom. When engaged with men of humble endowments, he condescended to the level of their capacities. When he had to deal with loftier intellects, he rose, at once, to their elevation. He was the patron of strangers—the protector of suppliants—a guardian power against evil. In short, he substantially combined in his own person many of those attributes, which the heathen fabulously ascribe unto their deities. . . . . He closed his days in a mature and good old age ; and is now joined to the Fathers, and the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, and the Apostles, and the Martyrs, who have done valiantly for the truth of God.\*

The tenth chapter of this history carries on the annals of the Church from the days of Justinian to those of Charlemagne. We can do no more than transcribe the concluding paragraph of it :—

“ When we behold the limits of Christendom extended by the writings of its ministers, or the eloquence of its missionaries, we record such conquests with pure and grateful satisfaction. When we observe a mass of Pagans, or other unbelievers, suddenly, but peacefully, melting into the bosom of the Church, we question their motives, we lament the stain which they bring with them, and we censure any unworthy compromise which has been made to conciliate them ; yet we are consoled to reflect that no immediate misery has been occasioned by a change which, at least, is pregnant with future improvements. But when we see the sword employed to propagate a religion of which the very essence is peace, we are at once disgusted and revolted by the cruel and impious mockery.”

It is impossible for any humane or enlightened Christian of the present day to offer a single syllable in dissent from the sentiments here expressed. But it *may* be very possible to discover certain topics of consolation, and of thankfulness, even in the sanguinary annals of the early triumphs of the Cross. Most assuredly all the triumphs of Christianity *should* be pure and peaceable. If the best Christians of the present day could have their wish, purity and peace would be, if we may so express it, the Missionary Angels of the Gospel throughout the globe ; and none would ever dream of enlisting fraud or violence under the

\* Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi.

banners of their Redeemer. But then, on the other hand, it must be kept in mind, that the religion of Jesus had frequently to make its way in times of barbarism and of darkness. Nothing short of a perpetual course of miracles could have prevented the intrusion of human passions in that holy work. And if once the admixture of human passions be admitted, who shall presume to say to what extent that admixture might be endured by Him who can make all things work together for good. It is, in truth, mysterious enough, that "unworthy compromise," or sanguinary violence, should ever be allowed to lay their hand upon the ark of a cause so sacred. But we see that it has been so. We see the religion of Christ now flourishing in nations which, but for "unworthy compromise," or barbarian force, might for ages have been left in ignorance of their Redeemer. And what is the lesson which such spectacles administer to us? They teach us *not* to imitate the ferocity, or the deception, by which the knowledge of the truth was brought into the dark and cruel places of the earth. But they *do* teach us to adore the wisdom and the power of Him who directed the passions of barbarians to a merciful and beneficial end, and constrained the wrath and the iniquity of men to praise Him. If we are to think of the campaigns of Charlemagne merely as the enterprises of a human conqueror, whose lust of dominion was animated by superstitious zeal, we shall, of course, feel little else than disgust and indignation at the "cruel and impious mockery" of the conversions which he effected. But if we regard his warlike propensities as instruments in the hand of an inscrutable Providence, we shall see good reason to rejoice that such a man was "raised up," in those savage days, to lay the yoke of Christ upon the necks of ignorant and bloody tribes.

Among many other remarkable instances of the manner by which great national blessings are often developed out of the ordinary working and combination of sublunary elements, the following is afterwards noticed in the course of Mr. Waddington's narrative, c. xix. He there tells us that—

"Prussia and the contiguous Pomerania, had hitherto resisted the peaceful exertions of successive missionaries; and continued to worship the rude deities, and follow the barbarous manners, of antiquity. *But where the language of persuasion had been employed in vain, the disciplined valour of the Teutonic knights prevailed.* It was recompensed by the conquest of two rich provinces; and the faith which was *inflicted* upon the vanquished, in the rage of massacre, was perpetuated by the *deliberate oppression* of military government. This event took place about the year 1230. *But, in another generation, when the memory of its introduction was effaced, the religion really took root and flourished by the legitimate authority of its excellence and its truth.*"

And this, (whatever dismay or perplexity the spectacle may inflict upon us,) is the process by which a *highway for our God* is frequently prepared over the morass and the wilderness of this present world. The blessings of civilization and religion are often found to march in the train of bloodthirsty and ruthless ambition. These considerations, it is true, are absolutely good for nothing, if produced as motives for unsheathing the carnal blade, and for presenting to barbarous tribes, at the sword's point, the blessings of pure faith and social refinement. But these considerations *are* doubtless of most legitimate force and weight, when we *look back* upon the progress of Christ's kingdom through the earth. That kingdom is not of this world; and if any have sought to advance it by the use of worldly weapons, the guilt be on their own head. But if the spiritual influences of his kingdom are found to have emerged, at last, out of the "toil and trouble" of sanguinary enterprise, what remains for us, but thankfully to welcome so merciful a result, even while we sigh over the ruin and the havoc by which it was originally ushered in?

In his thirteenth chapter Mr. Waddington presents us with a view of the Ante-Nicene church; and, among other things, bestows a cursory notice on a subject of no inconsiderable difficulty, — the devotional forms and services then in use throughout the Christian world. It must, here, in all justice, be recollected, that Mr. Waddington, at the commencement of his labours, did not enjoy the advantage,—now possessed by us,—of consulting the invaluable work of Mr. Palmer, which was published in the course of last year;—we mean, the "*Origines Liturgicæ, or, Antiquities of the English Ritual; and a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies.*" Of this performance it is scarcely possible to speak in terms of adequate commendation. It condenses, within the compass of two very moderate volumes, the result of much various and patient research; and furnishes the reader with a vast mass of information, which he would have otherwise been under the necessity of collecting from a formidable multitude of books. Had this disquisition fallen in the way of Mr. Waddington early enough in the course of his sore task, we apprehend that it would have induced him considerably to modify his judgment, on the subject of the ancient liturgies. His conjecture is, that—

"The earliest forms of services were extremely short and variable—otherwise more ample specimens of them would have reached posterity. On the other hand, the scanty passages which are adduced from Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, certainly prove that there were *some* fixed prayers in use in some of the ancient churches, which may or may not, have been common to them all."

That such should be his view of the matter will not, probably



appear very surprising to any one who will take the trouble to consult Mr. Palmer's Introduction. From this it appears, that the study of liturgies is one which, from various circumstances, has made but slow progress; that it was not till the eighteenth century that the *materials* of knowledge were supplied in sufficient abundance to enable the student of liturgies to take an extended and unprejudiced view of the subject; that the most learned men were long divided, as to the merits of the liturgical remains; that the subject was further involved in obscurity by the controversies of the times; and, lastly, that an erroneous notion was long and generally prevalent, that there was, originally, some *one* form of liturgy in the Christian church, to which all the monuments of ancient liturgies, and the notices which the Fathers supply, might be reduced. The laborious researches of Mr. Palmer have conducted him to the conclusion that all the primitive liturgies may be reduced to four; namely, the great Oriental liturgy—the Alexandrian—the Roman—and the Gallican. These he considers as the parents of all the forms now extant: and he, further, regards their antiquity as so very remote, and their use so extensive, in those ages when bishops were independent, that, in his judgment, it is difficult to place their origin at a lower period than the apostolic age. It is, indeed, well known that every Christian church possessed, and exercised, the liberty of varying and improving its own formularies. And this practice, upon a superficial view of the matter, might seem to involve the claim of these four liturgies to apostolic antiquity in hopeless doubt and confusion. On a more accurate examination, however, it will appear that this very circumstance adds powerful confirmation to the claim. For, where a discretionary power was generally exercised, what but a reverence for the apostolic source of these formularies, could have preserved them from indefinite mutilation and change? What but this could have maintained the *essential* uniformity, which is actually found to have prevailed throughout vast districts of the primitive church?

It is not, however, to be imagined that these, or any other liturgies, were, from the first, committed to writing. For a very considerable period, they were preserved entirely by memory and practice. That this was so, is collected by Mr. Palmer from a diligent attention to the notices supplied by the Fathers. It is impossible, he says, to consult these notices, without perceiving, that the baptized Christians were supposed to be familiar with every part of the service. Continual allusions are made to various particulars, which are wholly incapable of explanation, otherwise than by reference to the liturgies still extant. The order of the

parts is always found to be preserved. The same rites and ceremonies are continually repeated. The same sentiments and language, without material variation, are transmitted from generation to generation. The people were perfectly familiar with the precise points at which their responses were to be made, their hymn to be chanted, or their well-known prayer to be recited. And if each church thus preserved the substantial uniformity of its own liturgy,—a general and substantial uniformity would, likewise, be found, even after the lapse of centuries, in the liturgies of those churches, which had originally received the same order. The period at which liturgies were first committed to writing is altogether uncertain; but there is reason to believe that it was not *later* than the end of the third century, or the beginning of the fourth.

We have thought it advisable to notice the above particulars, partly with the view of encouraging our readers to resort to Mr. Palmer's work, in which these particulars are illustrated with admirable judgment and erudition; and partly with a view to supply the needful correction to the statement of Mr. Waddington, which, in its present shape, scarcely does justice to the antiquity or importance of liturgical and ritual formularies. The subject is one of profound and solemn interest to the church of England. How animating and delightful is it, for instance, to know that our prayers and services are, in form and substance, nearly the same with those, in which the spirits of the primitive worthies magnified their God and their Redeemer. To advert, for the present, to our *collects* only.

"They have been read," says Mr. Palmer, "in the liturgies of the church of England from the most remote period. Not only do we find them in the liturgies of the English church before the reformation, but in those of the Anglo-Saxon church long before the conquest. Most of these collects can, in fact, be traced back to the very beginning of the Anglo-Saxon church; and by that church they were originally derived from the liturgy of the Roman patriarchate in primitive times. We are thus enabled to trace them back, in many instances, to the fifth century. So that our collects, with some exceptions, have been used for 1400 years in the church of God; and their origin lies in the distant glory of primitive Christianity."—*Palm. Orig. Liturg.* vol. ii. pp. 39, 40.

Being now fairly launched into the boundless expanse of ecclesiastical story, one object which most forcibly arrests our attention, is the colossal form of Hildebrand—the Napoleon of the church! The portraiture of this astonishing specimen of the human race affords Mr. Waddington a noble opportunity for the exercise of his powers. Nothing can well be more masterly than his condensation of the history of this mighty architect of the papal

fabric. It appears that a portion of the early life of Hildebrand was passed in the celebrated monastery of Cluni. And here it probably was, that his fancy expatiated amid the visions of ecclesiastical grandeur, which his own towering genius subsequently realized. It was in the year 1049 that he first emerged into public notice. We are told that when Leo IX. was on his way through France to Rome, he became acquainted with the monk of Cluni. This pontiff was indebted for his elevation to the appointment of the emperor, Henry III.; and he was, accordingly, travelling to take possession of the apostolic see, in his pontifical attire, as if he were already pope. Hildebrand remonstrated vigorously against this premature assumption of dignity; and actually prevailed on Leo to lay aside these outward symbols of the pontificate, to enter Rome in the habit of a pilgrim, and there to receive from the clergy and the people that apostolical office which no layman on earth could have the right to confer. The pope was so deeply struck with the ability and strength of character exhibited by the recluse, that he withdrew him from his retirement, and carried him to Rome. From that moment we may fairly date the commencement of his greatness. His influence soon became almost omnipotent at the Vatican: and, for four and twenty years, he may be said to have exercised the pontifical power, although he was not invested with the apostolic office. It was not till 1073 that he ascended the chair of St. Peter; and then it was that his gigantic purposes broadly unfolded themselves to the gaze of an astonished world.

“The spiritual despotism of the pope,” says Mr. Waddington in his retrospect of the papal history, “transcends any exhibition of human power, described in any history, until we approach the surpassing magnitude of his temporal pretensions. The design of Gregory VII. was the most daring imagination of human ambition. To establish the chair of St. Peter, as the source of *all* power, secular as well as pastoral, civil as well as ecclesiastical—to subject all kings and all governments to the crozier of an unarmed aged priest—to regulate the politics of the world by the annual meeting of a Senate of Ecclesiastics, under the eye of that autocrat—to dispose of all countries and of all thrones—to create monarchs, and then to suspend or to depose them—to sport, as it were, with all that is sublime and mighty in earthly things—such was a scheme beyond the boldest conception of secular pride;—and it was engendered, where alone it could have found any nourishment, in the breast of a monk.”

A modern reader, indeed, as yet unacquainted with the prodigies of the papal history, might, perhaps, be tempted to add, that projects like these could find no entertainment but “in the breast” of a maniac. To such a person, the edicts of a straw-crowned monarch in a cell of Bedlam would scarcely appear

more extravagant and insane than the pretensions of Hildebrand. And yet, Hildebrand was no maniac : or, at least, his insanity was no other than that which has invaded other minds of prodigious capacity and ungovernable ardour. It was no other than that which has often, before and since, directed the destinies of the world, and left its burning impress upon the face of human society. And then, too, we should ever bear in mind the peculiar condition of Christendom, when this Olympian potentate began to thunder from the Vatican. Europe was, at that period, in a state of anarchy and degradation. The Ecclesiastical Supremacy had already been expanding itself, by degrees, to almost superhuman dimensions. The confusion of temporal with ecclesiastical authority had been worse confounded by the introduction of the feudal system. And, further, the aggressions and usurpations of the secular power had frequently been such as might well arouse the energies of a daring spirit, which had long been meditating, even to madness, on the transcendent privilege of binding and loosing both in heaven and on earth. These circumstances, as Mr. Waddington remarks, may somewhat mitigate the astonishment awakened by the bare recital of such stupendous audacity, and moderate the execrations with which the name of Gregory VII. has often been assailed by the indignant voice of History.

Few things are more surprising than the *deliberate* enthusiasm with which this extraordinary man carried his designs into execution. His energy did not confine themselves to a conflict with his imperial adversary. The kingdom of France was declared to be tributary to Rome. Spain was pronounced to have been among the possessions of the apostolic see, from the earliest ages of Christianity, although the grant by which it had been conveyed had, unhappily, perished among other ancient monuments. Saxony was an undoubted feudal dependence, held in subjection to the pontifical chair. William the Norman was astonished to find that he held the conquered realm of England as a fief of Rome. The kingdom of Naples was in the same condition of tributary subjection. The innumerable dukes and princes of Germany, of Hungary, of Russia, of Poland, of Croatia and Dalmatia,—all were reminded of their subjection to the vicegerent of heaven, and urged to acknowledge their unquestionable vassalage. All the kingdoms of the world were bound in chains to the throne of St. Peter, on pain of being stamped as traitors to the universal majesty of Christ. And these voracious claims were advanced with the intrepid confidence of one who seems to have no more suspected any flaw in his title, than the heir of any peaceful and settled monarchy on earth suspects the legitimacy of his own succession!

In Hildebrand, in short, all the elements of ecclesiastical despotism and ambition, which had been floating abroad for some centuries, were concentrated, and visibly embodied, and brought into intense and violent action. And their operation, in his person, is admirably traced and exhibited by Mr. Waddington. Among those by whom the work of flagitious denomination was carried on, in the course of the next two centuries, the most distinguished names are Innocent III. and IV., and Boniface VIII. But these, after all, were but inferior spirits compared with the magnificent genius of Gregory VII. Their character and history are given with great power by Mr. Waddington. The last of them, Boniface VIII., was, in many respects, little better than a ferocious ruffian. We can imagine nothing much more horrible than the account of his last moments. After he had suffered the outrageous insult and temporary confinement, inflicted by Nogaret,—

“Infuriated by the disgrace of his captivity, he hurried from Anagni to Rome, burning for revenge. But the violence of his passion presently overpowered his reason, and his death immediately followed. He was attended by an ancient servant, who exhorted him to confide himself in his calamity to the consoler of the afflicted. But Boniface made no reply. His eyes were haggard, his mouth white with foam, and he gnashed his teeth in silence. He passed the day without nourishment, the night without repose. And when he found that his strength began to fail, and that his end was not far distant, he removed all his attendants, that there might be no witness to his final feebleness and his parting struggle. After some interval, his attendants burst into the room, and beheld his body stretched on the bed, stiff and cold. The staff which he carried bore the marks of his teeth, and was covered with foam. His white locks were stained with blood; and his head was so closely wrapt in the counterpane, that he was believed to have anticipated his impending death by violence and suffocation.”

Such was the dreadful end of the earthly *representative* of Him, who, in the anguish of the Cross, prayed that his enemies might be forgiven. Such was the death-bed of the man of whom it was said, that he entered the Pontificate like a fox, that he reigned like a lion, and perished like a dog! The horrors of the picture are scarcely transcended by those ascribed by Shakespeare to the parting agonies of Cardinal Beaufort.

From the death of Boniface, with greater precision than from any other period, may be reckoned the downward course of the Papacy. At the very time when he received the insult which exasperated him to fury, he was preparing to launch a Bull, declaring that, “as Vicar of Jesus Christ, he had power to govern kings with a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces like a potter’s vessel.” But, from the moment of his decease, this power

began gradually to pass away from the throne of St. Peter. The transfer of the Apostolic seat to Avignon immediately followed: and during this "Babylonish captivity," the papal ascendancy melted imperceptibly away. Then came the grand and fatal Schism, which, more than any event which had yet occurred, enervated and paralyzed the Pontifical Supremacy. Lastly ensued the Councils of Pisa, of Constance, and of Basle, which still more fearfully impaired the Pontifical Omnipotence, and rendered the very name of a General Council a sound of terror and aversion in the ear of all succeeding popes. By this time, the lineaments of high and superhuman daring were well nigh obliterated from the aspect of the papacy. They were succeeded by the features of an abject and vile degeneracy. From henceforth the attributes of the Pontiffs, for the most part, were fraud, and perjury, and avarice, and nepotism, and every imaginable form of contemptible turpitude. The scene closes with the fifth Lateran Council, which abolished the Pragmatic Sanction; renewed the celebrated constitution *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII.; and then separated with entire self-confidence and complacency, as if they had settled all the affairs of the church on an immovable foundation! They finished their labours in March 1517, in the midst of mutual congratulations. In the course of that very year, Luther commenced, in the schools of Wittenburgh, the fulminations which shook one half of this *imperishable* fabric to ruins.

All these occurrences and vicissitudes are described by Mr. Waddington with most conspicuous ability. Familiar as they must be to every reader of Ecclesiastical history, it is impossible to peruse them in his pages without a vivid and perpetually renovated interest. We are unable worthily to illustrate by extracts our opinion of the merits of his narrative. But we cannot forbear to insert his splendid comparison of the characters of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

"In the comparison which we might here be tempted to draw between Innocent III. and the greatest among his predecessors, there is perhaps no point on which the preference could be refused to Gregory. Both availed themselves of the divisions of the empire; but the favourable circumstances which Innocent found, Gregory in a great measure created. The design of universal monarchy, which was carried so far into execution by the one, was conceived and transmitted to him by the other. With Innocent the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre was made the excuse for pecuniary exactions; with Gregory it was the lofty aspiration of erring magnanimity, earnest, and attended by a determination to devote his repose and person to the cause which he deemed holy. In the treatment of heretical delinquency, the one was moderate beyond the principles of his age and the passions of his

elergy ; the other urged the course and heated the rage of persecution, and by his perversion of the crusading frenzy into that channel, identified in the popular hatred dissent with infidelity, and established the law of vengeance, and multiplied the crimes of his posterity. And after all, how severely soever we may condemn the means which have created it, there is something of majesty and magnificence in the character of a spiritual despotism—an invisible power which enthralled mankind without the aid of physical force, and even in defiance of it ; which humbles the mightiest sceptre, and blunts the sharpest sword by a menace or a censure ; a power mysterious and undefinable, swaying the human race by the name—the much-abused name—of religion. If we look, indeed, to its origin, it is only an empire over man's ignorance and credulity. Still it is the empire of intellect ; and as such it stands on loftier ground than that worldly fabric which employed the ambition of Innocent ; the mere temporal sovereignty of arms and opulence, supported by corruption and massacre.”—p. 361.

There is something so hideously revolting in the annals of the papal superstition, during its worst ages of corruption, that the soul sickens at the recital, and is apt to be invaded, at times, by a feeling of despair. It seems, almost, as if Almighty God had given up the children of men to their “ hearts’ lusts,” and had utterly withdrawn Himself from all concern in their affairs : or, rather, it seems as if the helpless and ignorant millions of mankind had been created for no other purpose, but to be enslaved, and trampled upon, and eaten up like bread, by the most odious and worthless of the human race. This sort of perilous misgiving, indeed, is perpetually haunting the student of history, in all its various departments. But its persecution is peculiarly intolerable throughout the darkest periods of the annals of the Church. Almost every edict which, century after century, issued from the Vatican, in those dreadful days, sounds in our ears like a blasphemous abuse and prostitution of the holy name of Christ. It causes our blood to curdle, and our very flesh to creep upon our bones : so that one is tempted frequently to wonder that fire did not descend from heaven to consume the monster of the Seven Hills, or that the earth did not yawn beneath its feet and swallow it up. One duty, therefore, of the enlightened historian undoubtedly is, to guard his readers against the predominance of these despondent emotions ; to lift up the hearts of the pious and faithful ; to remind them, that crime and villainy are the phenomena which always must rush upward to the surface of human affairs, and impart a fearful and calamitous interest to the story of our species ; while the workings of good are silent and unseen, and therefore often unsuspected. And we are happy to find that Mr. Waddington has not been unmindful of this duty. He seems, throughout, unwilling to appear as the accuser or the slanderer of

human nature: and, though it is his painful task to speak of the abominable phrenzy of the Vatican, and the heaven-defying iniquities of the Romish hierarchy, he is likewise careful to admonish us, that, in meditating on the ways of Providence, we are not to confine our regards to principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places. We are to remember that, while the great ones of the earth were revelling in their earthly, sensual, and devilish wisdom, there probably was many a lowly and quiet region, where the gracious influences of heaven were dispensing their sunshine, and were ripening the fruits of that wisdom which is pure, and peaceable, and holy. The piety which was nourished in those retreats might, indeed, be misdirected, and erroneous, and far beneath the standard of Evangelic sanctity. But still the spirit of faith and self denial might have been there; and who can tell whether its offerings might not be accepted by the Father of Mercies? Who can pronounce that the savour of ignorant superstition which adhered to them, might not be cleansed away by the blood of Him who ever liveth to intercede for us? The generous and *truly* Catholic spirit will always be inclined to seek repose and consolation in the cautious and reverent indulgence of this benevolent optimism. And, doubtless, this sort of optimism it is, which has dictated the following and other similar passages, which occur in the pages of Mr. Waddington.

“The real heroes of Ecclesiastical history are those, whose belief and life are regulated by the laws of Christ; and the very circumstance, which constitutes their excellence, ensures their obscurity. They are not without their reward even in this world—but it is not in the enjoyment of renown, or in the hope of wordly immortality. It is in silence, that they perform their offices of charity; it is in secrecy, that they fulfil the commands of their Master; it is in humility, that they exalt their fellow-creatures: and as soon as their peaceful course of usefulness is over, they disappear, and leave no sort of trace or record of their virtues. It is to the proud, the turbulent, the ambitious, to the fanatic or the hypocrite, that the pages of the annalist are principally consecrated; and those whose life has been an insult to their religion, stand far more prominent in the Ecclesiastical picture, than those who have loved and obeyed it. It is not, that many have not existed, even in the worst ages of the Church, whose almost spontaneous piety has supplied its laws and corrected its abuses, and repaired, as far as their private influence extended, the ruins of its discipline—under whose sacred guardianship the treasures of life have been faithfully dispensed, and whose example has given sanction to their instructions. It is not, that even monastic depravity has not been redeemed by thousands of instances of monastic excellence. But it is, that the vices have been registered and blazoned, while the opposite qualities have either attracted no notice, or have generally been so exaggerated, as to revolt our reason and belief. Among the numerous progeny of



saints, so venerated by Catholics, so proscribed by Protestants, there have been some examples of pure Evangelical holiness; there have been some cardinals who have dared to deviate from the rule of profligacy; there have been many prelates, eminent for learning and integrity, as the History of National Churches and General Councils sufficiently demonstrates. But such characters were far more common among the humble and undistinguished pastors, who were free from the vanity, the enthusiasm, or the ambition, which so often lurks beneath the garb of *celebrated* sanctity. Yet the eye of the historian is fixed by the austere and wonder-working Saint, by the pompous Prelate, and the intriguing and rapacious Cardinal, while it overlooks the plants which flourish in the lower regions of serenity and fruitfulness. Notwithstanding, it is scarcely too much to affirm, that it was the zeal and piety of the inferior clergy, which so long supported the cumbrous machinery of the Court and Prelacy of Rome. It was their virtues, which sustained the vices of their superiors; it was their humble piety which enabled mitred apostates so long to outrage the name of Christ. And it was not till the poison had descended to the extremities of the system, and communicated even to the village pastor some portion of its hierarchical malignity, that the Church of Rome reeled to its foundation, and by its weakness and depravity invited and justified the rebellion of its children."—pp. 701, 702.

It is well known that there are some writers and students of Ecclesiastical History, who take a different view of this matter. Being deeply and conscientiously persuaded that the only *design* of the Gospel was to deliver a certain fixed portion of the human race, from the forfeiture incurred by the disobedience of the first man, they are keenly on the watch, throughout their historical researches, to discover this peculiar people, this elect and precious remnant. And having, as they honestly persuade themselves, traced the continued existence of the *little flock*, from age to age, they, comparatively, possess their souls in peace. The purposes of God towards those whom he foreknew, and pre-ordained to life, are thus manifestly fulfilled: and, this being so, the fate of all the remaining sons of Adam is a matter, if not wholly beyond human sympathy, at least very far beyond human curiosity or solicitude. They who are preserved, in the midst of idolatrous and corrupt generations, are monuments of redeeming mercy. They who are lost are but vessels reserved for that dishonour, which is no more than the righteous doom of a depraved and apostate world. To examine the justness of these notions, would evidently be to plunge into a pathless wilderness of controversy. Thus much, however, may surely be said without the slightest breach of charity,—that there are many sincere and humble Christians who can derive but little peace or comfort from this view of the Divine counsels; many, who can find rest unto their souls in nothing but a chastised and reverential hope, that the Lord

may have a treasury of secret mercies in store even for them who have been wandering, to all appearance, in the deadliest shadows of superstitious ignorance; especially if they have welcomed the faintest gleams of light which may have reached them through that thick and palpable darkness. These, indeed, are meditations, to which, in all their extent, humanity is unequal. But still, we cannot but think it more in harmony with the whole spirit of revelation to cultivate a hopeful temper, when we are attempting to scan the dealings of Omnipotence, than to be dwelling perpetually on, here and there, a little Goshen, visited exclusively with the blessed light of heaven.

Others, again, there are, who seem to imagine that the cause of the Reformation is well nigh hopeless, unless it can be clearly made out that, from the days of the Ante-Nicene Church to those of Luther, a continuous and audible testimony or protestation was lifted up against the corruptions and the usurpations of the see of Rome. For our parts, we confess that we should be in "huge dismay," if we believed that this was the only ground, on which the question between us and the Romanists could be brought to its arbitrement. "Much," says Mr. Waddington, "has been written about the *Lutheranism* that was prevalent before *Luther*; the unbroken series of *witnesses to the truth*; the unceasing protestations which have been silently breathed, in all ages, against the abuses of Rome." What protestations may have been breathed *in silence*, it would, of course, be difficult for mortal sagacity to pronounce; however *probable* it may be, that the hearts of many may, at all times, have secretly revolted against the perpetual violations inflicted by the hierarchy of Rome on the *simplicity which is in Christ*. As to any other protestations, we are much of Mr. Waddington's mind—namely, that it would be a very formidable task indeed to show, historically, that there exists a continued chain of testimony, with every link visible, between the primitive verity, *as clear of all corruptions*, and the whole system of our reformed doctrine. Thus much, however, we do believe,—that the essential principles of the Christian faith have been taught *in the Catholic Church*, throughout all ages, from the beginning. It is true that fraud, and violence, and remorseless persecution, may have compelled the Western World to swallow much impurity, together with the sincere milk of God's holy word. For although she, who calleth herself, exclusively, the Catholic Church, hath ever vaunted her *immutable* theology, the boast appears to have been verified only in one respect; namely, that her rulers have forcibly asserted their *immutable* right to make incessant change and innovation. It may be further true, that, to a fearful extent, the spurious ingredients may have prac-

tically neutralized the wholesome quality of the original element. But still, the original element was in the chalice; and, as for the impure ingredients, they can, with no justice, be regarded as preparations compounded by the Catholic Church. They were tossed in, successively, and most prodigally, by members of the Romish Communion. But when did the work of these mighty magicians receive even the semblance of complete synodical authority, till the meeting of the Council of Trent? And what better title does the Council of Trent deserve, than that which has sometimes been given it, of the *conspiracy* of Trent? At all events, the Council of Trent was no legitimate representative of the universal Church. It was not attended or recognized by the Eastern Patriarchs, nor by the Metropolitans or Bishops of the Church of England. And accordingly,—

“ All the great Eastern and Apostolical Churches of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Cæsarea, Russia, Georgia, as well as the ancient sects of Monophysites and Nestorians, in Egypt, Syria, Chaldea, Persia, Armenia, India, Tartary, and China, always rejected these doctrines (the doctrines peculiar to the Church of Rome), as they almost universally reject them at the present day.”\*

If, then, we were to be asked, where was *Lutheranism* before the days of *Luther*, we should by no means be careful to answer in this matter; or we should be content to say that, really, we do not very well know where it was. Luther was, undoubtedly, a mighty instrument in the hand of Providence for exposing the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and for denouncing the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, and for girding up the Western Churches to the work of their own deliverance and purification. And, for these services, the name of Luther is, doubtless, worthy to be had in everlasting and honourable remembrance. But, as members of a reformed branch of the Catholic Church, we are no more bound to say where the whole Lutheran system of theology and discipline was lurking, before the appearance of Luther, than we are bound to give a similar account of the system of Calvin. And if, again, we were to be asked, where was the Church of England previously to the time of Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth, we should reply,—that it was just where it is now; only that it had then been, for some ages, in a state of defilement and of slavery. Its restoration we owe to the labours of our own Reformers, who seized the cup from the hand of the sorceress, and, by their powerful alchemy, precipitated to the bottom all the pernicious drugs; and then presented the waters of life, in their genuine purity, to a thirsty people. And this work of theirs

\* Palmer's Orig. Liturgy, vol. ii. p. 253, 254.

would have been equally lawful, and worthy of all acceptance, even if neither Vandois, nor Albigenses, nor Panlicians, nor various other sects, who have been honoured with the title of the progenitors of Protestantism, had ever presumed to meddle with the mixture. If not a single public testimony had been uttered, by any one society or party, from the days of Constantine to the days of Henry, against the gradual encroachments of the Western Patriarch, or against the creeping corruptions of the Romish theology,—the Church of England would, most unquestionably, still have had the right to assert, at any time, her original independence, and to bring back her doctrines and her usages to the standard of primitive practice, and of scriptural truth.

With regard to the unbroken and visible continuity of sound opinion,—

“The question is”—(we are here using the words of Joseph Mede)—“whether the society of men of our Christian belief hath, in all ages, been, for the outside, a distinct corporation from all other societies, or states of men. My answer is—that for divers of the first ages it was in that manner visibly distinguished. But after an apostacy had overspread and deformed the beautiful spouse of Christ, then was the society, or the belief, as it were, covered and involved in the same external mantle with them, and, as it were, hidden in that dark cloud; and so, not a distinct society from the rest. But though, in the inward communion of the sincere faith, it was diverse and distinguished, yet it still, for the most part, continued a member of the same external body with them; being begotten of the same sacrament of baptism, taught, in some part, by the same word and pastors still continuing amongst them; and submitting to the same jurisdiction and regimen, so far forth as these had yet some soundness remaining in them. But for the rest, whether in doctrine or in practice, that was not compatible with their sincere faith, either wisely avoiding all communion with it; or, if they could not, then patiently suffering for their conscience sake, under the hands of tyrants, named Christians.”

On this passage we have only to remark, that, although it says the truth, it does not appear to us to say the whole truth. For we have little doubt that there were numbers, in every age, whose ill-informed conscience never prompted them to avoid communion with Rome, even in what we now know to be her corruptions; and whom yet we may surely venture to reckon among the faithful. And if it be asked, how this could be, we should reply, that, although the traditional and superstitious vanities of Rome may have entered into their scheme of religion, yet may their spiritual stamina (if we so may speak) have been strong enough to counteract the poisonous effect of the false doctrines, while it received the healing efficacy of the true; and so, may have preserved the vitals of their Christianity unimpaired. Such

men were Pascal and Fenelon, and many other worthies of the same stamp, who, doubtless, might be found, at all periods, in the bosom of the Romish Church: for if men like these were not Christians, where is Christianity to be found? But, to proceed with Joseph Mede:—

“ For understanding this, take this simile. When gold is mixed with a greater quantity of counterfeit metal, so that, of both, becomes one mass or lump; though each metal still retains and keeps his nature diverse from the other; yet can they not be outwardly discerned asunder by the eye. But, when the refiner comes and severs them, then will each metal appear in his own outside, and in his proper colours, whereby they are easily discerned asunder, one from the other. Such must the state of the Church needs be, when an apostacy shall rise out of the bowels thereof. And such do we affirm was the state of the Church of Christ, in that great prevailing apostacy, from which we are separated. The purer metal of the Christian body was not outwardly discernible from the base and counterfeit, while one outside covered them both. But when the time of refining came, then was our Church,—*not* first founded in the faith, (God forbid!); but a part of the Christian body, newly refined from such corruptions as time had gathered; as gold refined begins not then first to be gold, though it began first to be refined. So our Church began not, a hundred years ago, to be a Church; though then it first began to be a Reformed Church.”\*

So much for the question, whether an unbroken series of *Protestant* testimonies can be clearly and confidently traced upwards from the Reformation to the purest ages of the Church. And the above being our views of the matter, we confess that we regard the issue of that question with very little disturbance of our composure. We observe, however, that Mr. Waddington ascribes the labour bestowed upon this question by many learned and pious Protestants, in part, to their anxiety that the perpetual succession of the ministry might not seem wanting to the Reformed Communities. We know not how this point is viewed by Mr. Waddington himself. But, for ourselves, we can only say, that such anxiety appears to us exceedingly misplaced. Even if it were proved that there was a regular *doctrinal* succession among the Vaudois, and the men of Lyons, and other sects who *protested* against the tyranny and the perversions of Rome, this would not establish the fact that they had a legitimate *ministerial* succession. And, again, if their claim to a *ministerial* succession could be made good, what would it be to us? We derive not our ordinations through the Vaudois, or the men of Lyons, but through an unbroken series of bishops, the rightful successors of those who ruled our Church from the beginning. We are, therefore, quite unable to discern how the validity of the orders, or the mis-

\* Jos. Mede's Works, Disc. xxix.

sion of our Reformed Clergy can be affected, one way or the other, by the fate of this inquiry. In order to shake the claim of our own Church to a regular spiritual descent, one of two things must be shown; either that the Apostolic succession was fatally vitiated by erroneous opinions or practices, adopted by the ministers of our Church in the days of her impurity; or that, since the Reformation, our Orders have been uncanonical and schismatical. There are few intelligent and learned Protestants, we imagine, who will contend for either of these propositions; and as for the latter of them, it is not confidently or unanimously maintained even by the Roman Catholics themselves. Some Roman Catholic writers,—as Mr. Waddington is doubtless well aware,—have distinctly admitted the validity of our English Ordinations; and others have not only admitted it, but urgently *contended* for it. But this is a matter far too copious for discussion in these pages. They who desire to see it clearly and conclusively treated, have only to consult the work of Mr. Palmer, to which we have already adverted.\*

We had well nigh forgotten to state that, in p. 206, Mr. Waddington (having adverted to the abuse of deferring baptism until the hour of death, which prevailed in the early centuries,) observes, in a note, that Gibbon somewhere proposes a question which he (Mr. Waddington) professes his inability to resolve, namely, whether this pernicious practice was at any time condemned by any Council of the Church? An answer to this inquiry, we think, may be found in the 12th Canon of the Council of Neocæsarea; which seems to pronounce baptism unlawful and invalid, when administered to any sick person. An exception, however, is cautiously made in favour of cases, where the individual baptised might live to manifest the seriousness and the sincerity of his Christian profession; and also, (if we understand the words rightly,) where the population was very thin, and the administration of the sacraments consequently unfrequent and irregular. The words of the Canon are these:—'Εαν τις νοσῶν φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἀγεσθαι οὐ δύναται, οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, γὰρ, ἢ πίσις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης· εἰ μὴ, ταχὰ, διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταυτὰ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίσιν, καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων. The practice was, possibly, one with which the Church found it difficult to interfere very effectually. In our own times, it is to be feared, the spirit of the Church of England is too often violated by the administration of the Eucharist to persons on their death-bed; even though they may have notoriously and systematically refused it during the whole course of their lives, in spite of exhortations and entreaties to attend the

\* Orig. Liturgy, vol. ii. c. xii.

altar. This practice bears a considerable resemblance to the clinic baptism of ancient times; and yet it is a practice which we might find it no easy matter wholly to suppress.

ART. II.—*Christ Crucified; an Epic Poem, in Twelve Books.*

By William Ellis Wall, M.A., of Trinity College, Oxford.—Oxford, Parker, 1833. pp. 515.

TALK not unto us of the courage of the men who led the storming party at Badajoz; talk not unto us of him who first scaled the icy barriers of the Alps, or of him who first committed his frail bark to the savage ocean with the triple brass around his breast: talk not unto us of Decius, or Curtius, or Nelson, or Sir Sydney Smith, or Blucher, or Marshal Ney, or any other example, either ancient or modern, of valour and self-devotion. Here is a man who has published an epic poem in twelve books of blank verse, in the year 1833! Captain Ross is a craven to him. Mr. Wall deserves a niche in the Temple of Immortality, simply on the ground of his own adventurous daring,—to say nothing of the boldness of his bookseller.

Yet we hear of similar phenomena as having been lately visible. We hear something of a French-Italian epic,\* of which Napoleon is the hero; but we have not been able so far to screw up our own courage as to speak from personal knowledge; for we would almost rather have fought through the campaigns both of the Consulate and the Empire, than encounter them in French heroic verse. We hear again of an epic poem in Sanscrit by an English clergyman. For ourselves, at such an announcement as this, we can only lift up our hands and marvel. We think, however, that there is something still more sublimely magnanimous in the conduct of the man, who, in the present day, can make an offering of a sacred epic, containing, we believe, about sixteen thousand lines, to that most utilitarian, mechanical, and prosaic personage the British public.

In a word, “*Vixêre fortes ante Agamemmona*,” brave men have lived before Mr. Ellis Wall; but none so brave as he. Yet the world is full of ingratitude. We almost fear, that, after having displayed so much of active resolution, Mr. Wall will be now called upon to exhibit, according to the words quoted by himself,

“The better fortitude  
Of patience, and heroic martyrdom.”

There is one circumstance, however, which produces some abatement of our admiration. We half suspect that Mr. Wall's valour has mainly consisted in an insensibility to his peril. He

\* Napoléon, Poème, en dix chants, Français-Italien, prix, cartonné, 16s.

has rushed upon his adventure without a full acquaintance with its manifold difficulty and its extreme danger. We do not merely mean, that he has not appreciated the popular distaste for long and elaborate and didactic poems, but that he has not sufficiently estimated the combination of natural and acquired endowments—the genius and the knowledge—the multifarious variety of qualifications and resources—the vast outlay of time and toil—indispensable for the composition of an epic poem. An epic poem! it is a work considerable enough to employ the whole span of a man's mortal existence. How many years has Mr. Wall devoted to “Christ Crucified?” Too many, we apprehend, for himself; but too few for the nature of his production.

Our author, nevertheless, has proceeded “*secundum artem*,” with the most approved rules before him. But, alas, for the manufacture neither of an epic poem nor a pudding, is a good receipt enough, unless good materials are also provided. In a preface, wherein Mr. Wall informs us,—unfortunately, without duly impressing the fact upon his own mind,—that “the severe code of Parnassus peremptorily denounces all poetic mediocrity,” he thus learnedly continues to dissert:—

“In the present brief outlines of the plan of this work, the more important points only of epic criticism will be noticed: 1. the materials of the poem; 2. the machinery; 3. the morals; 4. the characters; and 5. the versification.”—*Preface*, p. i.

These several points he discusses in their order, with that respectful quantity of reference to the treatises of Aristotle, which we naturally expect, and we must allow that we are seldom disappointed, from gentlemen who have graduated at Oxford. Unable, as we are, to follow him through his remarks, we must content ourselves with assuring our readers that they will not be offended by wild and innovating theories, as Mr. Wall implicitly obeys what “the father of criticism has decided.” The machinery is Miltonic, not, however, without some curious additions, as, for instance, an evil spirit, who assumes the form of King Solomon. We heartily trust, that no man will ever be profane enough to burlesque this poem, and introduce an evil spirit assuming the form of Mr. Wall. The conduct of the story is Homeric, or Virgilian; as, for example, to give a more dramatic form to the narrative, “the blessed Virgin, through the interest of Nicodemus, obtains an audience of the Procurator in the Prætorium,” and then and there relates some important circumstances of the history through two or three books: and, again, at the conclusion, “the Messiah sets before his disciples in a panoramic vision, the future fates and fortunes of his church, until the end



of the world, and the final consummation of all things:" among which "fates and fortunes," our poet has dutifully contrived that honourable mention should be made of the—

"Two suns of science, seated bright  
On Isis and on Camus' classic banks;"\*

with sundry particulars which, we confess, notwithstanding our own reverence of "*Alma Mater*," have sorely tempted us first to smile and then to be angry. Thus, with the proper number of *twelve books*, and all the externals of a regularly-formed composition, who shall say that this is not an epic poem, "good in law," and complete in all its parts?

"The versification,"—and our authority for this assertion is excellent, as we have the poet's own word for it—

"5. The versification, it is hoped, will be found to be easy and harmonious: that, in so long a work, some absonous lines and metrical deficiencies occur, I have no doubt; but it by no means follows, that a line, which is inharmonious when taken by itself, should prove so when placed in connexion with others; and I am convinced that a well-tuned poetical ear will feel this remark."—*Pref.* pp. xi. xii.

Now, on such a point, we hardly like to differ with a gentleman, who has so long had ample opportunities of forming his opinion; and yet there appear to us a few lines which "halt upon uneven feet," and others which Mr. Wall has forgotten to polish in the ardour of his inspiration. It is still among our recollections, that at school we were occasionally asked to *scan* our verses:—will Mr. Wall do us the favour of *scanning* such lines as—

"With biting desires: here horror and despair."

"A dastardly dissembler to power."—B. vi. l. 185.

"Indicant of the winds, trembles round its point."—B. vi. l. 190.

"Devour it, and burn before thine eyes."—B. xii. l. 356.

"And temple: firebrands, by soldiers thrown."—B. xii. l. 397.

"In superstition, to her deserts withdraws."—B. xii. l. 558.

"The files of war meet, in the dire conflict."—B. xii. l. 667.

"Myriads, locust-like, shall to Asia flow."—B. xii. l. 944.

with many others, which any *single book* of the poem, into which we might happen to dip, would at once present to us. Perhaps, however, our ears are not "*poetical and well-tuned*."

\* We take it for granted that Mr. Ellis Wall is a young man, and will grow wiser, otherwise we should be compelled to deal with him and his poem in a very different manner; and point out how nearly he approaches to the verge of indecency and blasphemy in putting childish compliments to Oxford and Cambridge in the mouth of the Redeemer of the world.

But it is almost a fraud upon our readers to confine them to the spare diet of single lines, when we can place before them so rich a banquet of intellectual delicacies as the following *passages*. Let us remark, before hand, that we choose quotations which have the least bearing upon any peculiar sanctity in the subject-matter.

Many poets have described storms: but Mr. Wall is incomparably great. The vernacular idiom is quite inadequate to the teeming magnificence of his ideas.

“ Now came the tempest on with rushing roar  
Of cutting blasts, that howl'd in hurricanes  
The wrath of nature, and of nature's God!  
From the black bending clouds the sluicy rain  
Pours torrent-streaming down: sharp-smiting sleet,  
Immix'd, adven'd, shooting sagittal war,  
Wing'd on the pinions of the blust'ring blast.  
Dire lightnings play with transitory glare  
In forked strokes, and momentary lights  
Broad flashing flame, that rift the wat'ry clouds  
With igneous fissures, and the murky night  
Illumine: transient glories, swift extinct,  
Just shew th' impending terrors of the scene,  
And leave th' appalled eye in deeper dark.  
And now Heaven's lightning ordnance 'gan roar,  
The gnarring thunders murmuring eftsoons<sup>9</sup>  
Deep bellow and rebellow crashing round.”

B. v. l. 356—372.

Or take another similar passage, where our poet again leaves competition at an immeasurable distance.

“ And now, as smould'ring by the lightning's blast,  
Above their heads, Heav'n's cloud-capt canopy  
Chang'd ruby red: the blushing dome, behind  
The skirt of darkness gleaming sanguine, shews,  
In gory light with ire celestial swaling,  
Th' apparent night, o'er which scowl'd horror wide.  
Down from their summits high the mountains shake  
Their riven rocks, and into valleys sink  
Precipitant, from Heav'n's wrath fugitive,  
With crashing roar and deaf'ning resonance.  
Earth fears for her inhabitants, and had fled  
(Had Fate's attractive adamantine bonds  
Been frangible) to some remoter space,  
Scar'd at th' imagined sight of Nature's death!”

B. ix. l. 1148—1161.

At other times there is a delightful simplicity. Thus, when the Virgin Mary has been uttering lamentations to St Peter, Mr. Wall adds at the conclusion, “*So plain'd the fair.*”—p. 439. But, in general, grand and swelling phrases are so congenial to his

peculiar conceptions, that he seldom deviates into a more level style without a certain poorness and tameness, not to say baldness of style, which, we are sure, his own taste would be the first to condemn.

But why detain the reader from Mr. Wall's beauties by our own observations? Let us dash into the work at random, and pull out a few jewels just as they come to hand.

"Nor less are moral principles from view  
Latent. Primordial foundations firm  
Of truth, and sacred postulates of God,  
Lie shrouded in obnubilating night."

" 'Now in Bethsaida's faithless town arrived  
Messiah; where some suplicants approach'd,  
Leading a hapless wretch of sight depriv'd.  
Jesus in public view refus'd t' effect  
Such miracle, mid th' unbelieving throng;  
But through the city gate him led, and there  
*Ointed his eyes night-shrouded, and impos'd  
Sputation dews.* Straight on the visual ball  
Dawn'd doubtful scenes, and objects indistinct  
Floated along: '*Men walk as trees,*' (*the wretch  
Cried joyous at th' advening view*). This heard,  
Messiah straight a second time his eyes  
Touch'd, and the parting dark shone into day!'"

B. viii. l. 135—147.

" 'There clos'd their airy voyage, Satan plac'd  
Messiah, (meekly all his trials borne,)  
High on a cloud-crown'd mountain, that to Heav'n  
Its altitude sublimely rear'd; emerging  
From th' arid desert, midst high rocky hills;  
*As torn and convuls'd from the shatter'd ribs  
Of globe terrene.* And there before him plac'd,  
(Part real, part in vision,) glorious scenes,  
Th' earth's atmosphere (*then specular become,  
By pow'rs catoptrick and dioptrick join'd,  
Reflecting and refracting nature's works*)  
*On light-linn'd mists, circling th' horizon, threw  
A spectrum of the world and all her kingdoms!*"

B. vii. l. 225—237.

"Immediate chanticleer a louder note  
A second time shrill sung."—B. v. l. 939.

"In Pilate's legal care  
A noted caitiff lay, in fetters bound,  
Barabbas nam'd. He, *a fell brigand bold,*" &c.

B. viii. l. 638—640.

"Radbertus first  
Kindles the strife; his monstrous doctrines shame  
The senses, and *tine persecution's fire.*"—B. xii. l. 887—889.

Mr. Wall's poem contains, we doubt not, splendid exemplifications of every poetical figure. But alliteration is his favourite. Where, indeed, shall we find any bard, in any language, who makes use so skilfully or so frequently of

“ Apt alliteration's artful aid.”

A few instances will suffice.

“ Their Master's form was glorious transfigur'd  
To shape and splendour of Heav'n's habitants !  
His beamy face darted celestial rays,  
As when o'er th' Earth dazes the cloudless sun,  
Burnish'd with brilliancy and lustre's life.  
His vestments, pierc'd with emanative beams,  
Whiten'd to light, and dazzled into day !  
Candid as driven snow, and whiter far  
Than fuller's art can bleach an earthly vest :  
While shining argent clouds blaz'd blinding round,  
And downward rain'd a radiant storm of rays !  
When, lo ! two prophets old, in glitt'ring guise,” &c. &c. &c.  
B. viii. l. 155—166.

But once more we must give the pearls without attempting to string them.

“ There was found  
A double livid liver, whose one lobe  
Lusorions leap'd.”—p. 339.

“ Bick'ring flame  
Flagrates th' expiring world.”—p. 511.

“ And onward hal'd  
With stagg'ring steps, slidd'ring o'er slipp'ry ground.”—p. 202.  
“ So he. Whereat th' old man, with threat'ning look,  
Relucant grown from dark, that instant seiz'd,  
With gryphon's gripe, the passive Son of God,  
And soar'd with him, cloud-high, shot into air.”—  
B. vii. l. 180—183.

“ Then day shall shine on those who sit in night  
Pernicious : Death's death die, and life's life live.”—  
B. ix. l. 968—969.

“ The gorgeous gallantries of courts and cities,  
Pass'd by in stately gait. There syren forms  
Sang their deceptive songs, and from swift feet  
Sparkling with spangled gems dropt down a dance,  
And floated gay o'er the flow'r-liv'ried sward.”  
B. vii. l. 49—53.

We are informed of a “ wily spider,” that

“ He weaves fresh filmy fetters, tangles twines.”—B. iii. l. 267.

So also we have “ lucent lights,” and “ linear light,” and “ virent vesture,” and “ sandall'd sounds,” and “ tiny tones,” and “ hallel hymns,” and “ horrent hair,” and “ jagged jaws,” and

"difficultly died," "rapid Rome's legions," and "Mnemonic herb of Hymen," and a whole galaxy of stars equally brilliant.

From these citations our readers cannot fail to have perceived the affluence of speech, as well as the affluence of imagery, which renders Mr. Wall pre-eminent among poets.

It was said of Pope, if we remember rightly, that if his epic had not been burned, it would probably have enriched the English language with many new and beautiful expressions. How thankful ought we to be, that no sacrilegious flames have consumed the labours of Mr. Wall! *He* is, assuredly, the king of the Dictionary: and, by the omission of a single letter, we may apply to him the celebrated compliment, and say that he has

"Exhausted words, and then imagin'd new."

Our tongue is certainly indebted to him for many original terms of much nobler sound, and more magnificent dimensions than the vulgar Saxon, which we are in the habit of using. We recommend the following (and the catalogue might be infinitely enlarged) to any gentleman or lady who wishes to make additions to a "cabinet of curiosities;"—"crescive," "croisoidal," "declivous," "ramous," "fuscous," "nocent," "parle," "maffled," "sciential," "intelligential," "inflesht," "advesperating," "ignivomous," "ventigenous," "altivolant," "ingustible," "advenes," "elutes," "aculeate," "cruentate," "spumy," "magnifick," "theorick," "indesinently," *cum multis aliis*, as see the poem itself *passim*.

Many of these expressions Mr. Wall has of course derived from his acquaintance with the poets of classical antiquity. In the same way we may account for the otherwise strange anomaly that "Flora," and "Aurora," and "Phœbus," and "Bacchus," and "Tethys' lap," and "*Cynthia* these of primary orbit," &c., are occasionally found figuring among the events and personages of the New Testament; and that the Virgin Mary is visited with "sweetest dreams from *Somnus' bower*:" and that we have a regular invocation, introductory of some of the most solemn occurrences, to

"Clio, Historic Muse, and daughter fair  
Of Jove, and of Mnemosyne."

And again, hence it is, that, in the tenth book, we have a description of the infernal regions, written in a more subdued and tranquil style than is usual with Mr. Wall; inasmuch as it happens to be an echo, or a translation, of different parts of Virgil and Lucretius.

But we have done. If, after all these extracts, our readers do not immediately set forth to purchase Mr. Wall's production, the fault is not ours. The only difficulty which presents itself to our

minds is this: that, if they *should* purchase this present volume, they will probably have to purchase two others in the spring of 1834. For Mr. Wall says in his preface, p. xiii.

“ It was my intention to accompany the poem with historical and critical notes from the writings of the Christian fathers, commentators, and others whose works I had perused, with a view in some degree to the present publication; but finding that so extensive a plan would swell the work to two, or possibly three, octavo volumes, without any greater probability of success, it has been thought preferable to present the text only to the public, that its reception might either encourage or discountenance the further prosecution of my undertaking.”

We shall ourselves be looking out with eager expectation: and yet Mr. Wall's course is, perhaps, judicious; as when we think of the specific gravity of the poem, we are not quite sure that, besides swimming upon the stream of public favour itself, it would have been able to float and buoy up two volumes of notes. And why, in fact, should Mr. Wall trouble himself with such matters? These are not tasks which belong to men of original and poetic genius. Commentators, doubtless, will arise in after ages, who will do justice to his text. We say in after ages: for, alas! of the present age we despair. Milton, we verily believe, would in our days be treated with a more scurvy contumely than awaited him in the times of which it is the fashion to complain: and, instead of obtaining twenty pounds for “*Paradise Lost*,” we much question whether, if he were now alive, he would find a bookseller to take the risk of the publication. If Mr. Wall, therefore, should not meet his deserts; if his lofty ambition should be disappointed; let him console himself with this recollection, that his fate is the common fate of the highest order of talents: and for our own parts we shall only say of him, if there is any failure of success,

“*Magnis tamen excidit ausis.*”

But enough of this. Let us add two words in a graver tone. We are aware that we may have thrown ourselves open to an accusation from which we should recoil with the deepest feelings of annoyance, by speaking with levity of a poem, of which the subject is “*Christ crucified*.” Heaven forbid that we should speak on sacred subjects with levity and ridicule; but it is a different thing, we trust, to speak with ridicule of the manner in which sacred subjects are handled. Indeed, we frankly confess our desire to discountenance and put down *Epic Poems* on divine themes, more especially such poems as it is impossible to read through without the involuntary excitement of feelings which ought never to be awakened under such circumstances.

Upon the matter of epic poetry in general, our opinions, we

fear, are in many respects heretical; but we need not put them forth, as we would now just touch upon a point far more important than any topics of literary taste. Of such a nature is our objection to *sacred epics* or *sacred dramas*, that is, epic or dramatic poems which are founded on the Bible; and the objection comes upon us with a tenfold strength, when they relate to the Fall or Redemption of Mankind. These things are too holy for poetical amplification, and too awful for poetical embellishment. *All* such poems, we think, are in themselves a *mistake*. We *feel* the mistake when we take up such productions as the "Death of Abel," or Klopstock's "Messiah," or Kirke White's "Christiad," or any other work of the same class. We feel it even in the case of Milton with regard to "Paradise Lost," and much more to "Paradise Regained," and in some degree, perhaps, to the "Samson Agonistes." The majesty of the execution cannot reconcile us to the design. Our opinion, in fact, is, that it would be better to confine sacred poetry to compositions, and, for the most part, *short* compositions, which breathe the spirit of personal devotion, and express the fervour of individual feelings and aspirations to the sovereignty of heaven. *Here* the Bible is itself full of the most exquisite and perfect models. But we deny the whole *principle* of narrative poems, which merely take the oracles of God for the ground-work of their story. Upon such subjects no man can write up to our conceptions of religious sublimity; and, what is far more, no man can write in any way without confusing our ideas of religious truth. Of all incongruous, offensive, and painful mixtures, the mixture of Divine Revelation and human invention—of sacred history and poetical fiction—in a word, of Scripture and fable—is to our minds the most incongruous and most offensive and most painful in the world.

On this account our strictures upon Mr. Wall have taken a more caustic tone than we might otherwise have assumed. We give him credit for excellent intentions; but credit for excellent intentions, we know well, will not satisfy a man who aspires to wear the laurel crown of Homer and Milton; we do not deny to him the possession of some talents, but we think that he has managed to render them altogether useless, and occasionally somewhat ridiculous;\* we do not deny to him the praise of some in-

\* In truth, we are more inclined to laugh at Mr. Wall, because he has taken such excessive pains to *make himself* ridiculous. In the few lucid intervals, when he foregoes or forgets his bombastic and pedantic extravagances, and, instead of straining after effect and thinking to outsoar all possible rivalry, is content with chasteness and sobriety of style, his lines are not without their elegance, and single expressions of real beauty and poetry are occasionally interspersed. We here subjoin one short passage by way of specimen:—

"Hypocrisy! how speciously she roams  
The world around, muffled in borrow'd vests!"

dustry and research, but we think that his research and his industry have been sadly misemployed; and we do trust that he will forthwith betake him to some other occupation, less exceptionable in a religious point of view, and more profitable or more hopeful in a worldly point of view, than the composition of epic poems on such subjects as "Christ Crucified."

Outweeps the weeping of sincerity ;  
 Outdoes the doings of true charity ;  
 Outflies the zeal of purest piety ;  
 Awhile, when eyes are on her, wears her mask,  
 Dropt, with a sneer at man's credulity,  
 When none is nigh, save God, the deed to note."—B. ii. l. 246—253.

Yet even this favourable instance is marred by the abominable alliteration at the end.

ART. III.—*Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First.* By Lucy Aikin. 2 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. London, 1833.

THE title of this book will certainly disappoint every reader who expects to find in it any details respecting the private life of Charles the First; the gossip of his court; or the manners of the lords and ladies who directed its fashions or influenced its politics. Miss Aikin has only produced an historical abridgment of the civil war; written, upon the whole, in a correct and lively style, but presenting no traces of accurate research or deep meditation. Her creed, as a politician, too, is made manifest in every page. Less passionate than Mrs. Macauley, she is not more favourable to the unfortunate king; less philosophical than Laing, she is equally severe in her censures on the vices of tyrants and the abuse of delegated power; less declamatory than Brodie, she is not more just in her conclusions relative to the motives of the principal actors in the great national drama; and less open than Godwin in her hostility to the royalists, she is not more sparing in her invectives, bitterness and sarcasm. In a word, she seems to have written under a decided bias towards what is esteemed the popular interest: And, as always happens in similar cases, she has not hesitated to twist facts so as to answer her purpose; to select such anecdotes as might darken the reputation of Charles and his household; to pass slightly over all extenuating circumstances; and, generally, to sum up the historical evidence with so partial an intent as to lead the judgment of her readers to the least merciful verdict.

At the distance of two hundred years, we are still too near the days when the son of James the First ascended the throne, to reason with entire impartiality on the great principles and events which have conferred on his reign such an immeasurable import-



ance. The epoch of human society, which at that period assumed in England its peculiar form and character, has not yet run its full course. The great elements, which then began to develop their force and activity, have not yet subsided into any fixed or permanent shape. The political caldron, which then commenced its ebullition, has not hitherto thrown all its scum to the top. We are still under the influence of causes which were then first seen to operate; and are therefore to a certain extent disqualified for examining into their nature and anticipating their results.

What might have been deduced from theory on this subject, is found completely substantiated by facts; for, in this section of British history, party-feeling is still so vehemently excited that it is vain to look among our contemporaries for a narrative worthy of entire confidence. The mutual recriminations and reciprocal calumnies which were launched against each other by the monarchist and the commonwealth's man, have been transmitted to our own times; the Whig and the Tory now infuse into their respective works the bitter spirit which agitated the controversies of a former age; and it cannot be concealed that the political antagonists of the present day equal the most noted of their predecessors in their fierce animosities, as well as in the narrowness of their views.

It has been often remarked that the French Revolution is an illustration of the same principles which produced the English, only modified by the different circumstances of the two nations in point of wealth and civil rights, at the era when they respectively started in the race of freedom. Guizot, in his history of the latter event, observes that such is the analogy of the two revolutions that the first could never have been perfectly understood had not the second burst forth. Nor has the impatient spirit of innovation been yet either satiated or conciliated. The shades of Prynne and Mirabeau seem to hover over the meetings and to animate the counsels of the people on either side of the channel; inspiring contempt for every institution older than themselves, and teaching the multitude to connect all their hopes of improvement with the perpetration of the most hazardous changes. The present age is, therefore, deeply interested in all discussions that promise to throw even the faintest light on those secret springs, by the action of which the political machine is so frequently disturbed. We become disposed to the most serious reflexion on the origin of causes, which are periodically followed by effects so appalling and apparently unavoidable. We listen with the profoundest interest to every one who undertakes to explain the rise of that tremendous tide which ever and anon threatens to inundate the dry land, and subject us once more to the alarms and misery of an universal deluge.

But, generally speaking, we are compelled to rest satisfied with insulated facts in place of connected principles; and we must add that, unless we can put ourselves under the guidance of a very sage and dispassionate writer, the literal statement is more valuable than the laboured commentary. When reason has secured the dominion of the author's mind, and represses the risings of a peevish temper and a factious spirit, we are indifferent as to the association from which he takes his name, or the banner under which he professes to serve. We are equally delighted with the reflections of Hume and D'Israeli, of Hallam and M'Intosh; because, on most occasions, these historians address the understanding rather than the spleen, and try to gain our suffrage by the fair and honourable canvas of distinct argument. The bias is indeed manifest; no concealment is thrown over the several objects which they are desirous to accomplish; but, on the other hand, the means employed are perfectly legitimate; there are no poisoned weapons to be apprehended, no stratagem to be feared, and no arts, beyond those of a cunning rhetoric, to call for our vigilance. Our complaints and aversion are solely directed against that malignity which attempts to compass its paltry ends by tampering with records, corrupting authorities, insinuating motives which an examination of facts is not found to warrant; and, above all, by exciting in the mind of the reader suspicions against those whom the author has not courage to attack.

The true history of the first Charles has an intimate connexion with the great events which marked the current of English politics, from the accession of Henry Tudor down to the demise of James. The storm which overthrew the throne, at the middle of the seventeenth century, had been rising in the air and gradually gathering strength for more than a hundred and fifty years. Men had become conscious of certain powers which refused to be any longer repressed or directed; they began to dream of rights which, they readily induced themselves to believe, had been too long withheld; they felt, for the first time, the pressure of burdens which they now thought it unworthy of freemen to bear; and they aspired to the enjoyment of privileges which, they fondly imagined, their mere birth in a land devoted to liberty entitled them to claim.

The increase of knowledge and property among the commons, at the period just indicated, was the principal agent which effected, by a gradual but irresistible operation, the improvement of the constitution and the enlargement of freedom. At a still earlier date, indeed, the theory of government had attained to considerable perfection; for the spirit of the feudal system, under which the forms of political society were originally established in

this country, was far from being inconsistent with the claims of personal liberty in all classes, except, perhaps, the very lowest. In opposition to the weak though arbitrary administration of Henry the Third, permission was extorted from the crown to elect and return to Parliament two knights for each shire, two citizens for each city, two burgesses for each borough, and two barons for each cinque port, to represent the community at large. The following reigns, too, were distinguished by some important accessions to popular privileges; and, if we might judge of the extent of liberty enjoyed by the means and precautions which were used for its support, there would be no rashness in asserting that the frame of English law had already embodied the leading principles of a free constitution.

But amidst the confusion of the frequent wars in which the country was engaged, and the turbulence of the more powerful barons, the voice of law could not be heard, so, at least, as to extend its protection to the lower orders of the people; and it was not until the successful pursuits of agriculture and commerce had raised the inhabitants of the maritime counties in the scale of political weight and intelligence that the real benefits of the constitution began to be enjoyed. Such is the power of that curiosity which is naturally inherent to the human mind, that, whenever men have the means of information placed within their reach, they are found to examine and compare; and from that moment the grosser corruptions of national policy can only be maintained by force, or by the dread of greater evils which would attend their instant removal. It accordingly deserves notice that, so early as the reign of Henry the Fifth, "the times were now come about when light began to spring forth, conscience to bestir itself, and men to study the Scriptures. This was imputed to the idleness and carelessness of the clergy, who suffered the minds of young scholars to luxuriate into errors of divinity, for want of putting them on to other learning, by preferring those that were deserving. The Convocation taking this into consideration do decree that no person shall exercise any jurisdiction in any office, as vicar-general, commissary, or official, unless he shall first in the University have taken degrees in the *civil* or *canon* laws. A shrewd trick this was to stop the growth of the study of divinity and Wickliff's way, and to embellish men's minds with a kind of learning that may gain them preferment, or at least an opinion of abilities beyond the common strain, and dangerous to be meddled with."

Such expedients for perpetuating the reign of ignorance cannot be attended with much success, and will never be resorted to by those who have learned to read the "signs of the times." The devices of the clergy in the fifteenth century bore some resemblance to the inconsiderate resolution of James and his son Charles, who, when they found their subjects becoming more than usually serious, gave orders to republish the Book of Sports. In both cases, we perceive a degree of practical wisdom equal to that of men who, in order to prolong the duration of night, should at the dawn of day, desire the windows to be curtained and additional candles to be brought in. More intelligent or vigilant rulers would, in either instance, have studied the indications of a new era about to open upon the theological and political world, and prepared themselves for the exertions to which they might be called, whether to obviate or to satisfy its claims.

The progress of liberty in England was checked in no small measure by the immense power acquired for the crown by Henry the Seventh, and by the practical despotism of his son and successor. The latter, who found the nobles weakened by their mutual strife, and the people exhausted by protracted wars, conducted his government on the most arbitrary principles; showing himself either ignorant or indifferent in respect to all the statutes that had ever been enacted for the protection of individual freedom. Elizabeth, inheriting much of her father's spirit, trode in his footsteps, so far as the improved condition of her subjects would permit. In the days of this queen, the claims of the prerogative were as high, and the power of Parliament as low as during the reign of the imperious Henry.

But, as we have elsewhere observed, both the father and daughter sought a cover for their attacks on the constitution, by acting in apparent concert with the two branches of the legislature. At the same time, nothing is more obvious than that the regal power was all the while exercised in so high and arbitrary a manner as, in fact, to destroy the belief that the people had any claim to the benefits of a free government. Even the language of Parliament itself, with the decrees of lawyers and the doctrines of divines, ran decidedly in favour of an unlimited prerogative. The "crown" had been declared supreme, and to have the chief government "of all estates of this realm, and in all causes." The first of the Stuarts, therefore, reasoned with perfect accuracy upon the statutes and precedents with which the practice of a hundred years had supplied him, when he declared the King of England to be above all law. Even Elizabeth, who was not so much disposed to prate about abstract right, occasionally checked her Parliaments by reminding them that it was not their part to meddle with

what concerned the prerogative royal, and the high points of government.\*

The dangers which assailed the church from the two opposite points of the theological horizon, the papists and the puritans, had led to a variety of curious speculations on the origin of kingly power, whether applied to church or state. The supremacy of the crown, however, so frequently asserted in those days, had no respect to any privilege of dispensing with the laws of the land, but merely announced the independence of the kingdom, with regard to all foreign potentates, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The *Divine right* claimed for the hereditary sovereigns of England, was urged in opposition to the Jesuits, who, to weaken the sentiment of allegiance to an heretical prince, taught, throughout the whole nation, that royal authority had no spiritual sanction, but originated exclusively in the will of the people. The puritans, though entertaining very different views, coincided with the Romish priests in the doctrine now mentioned; and hence, as the foundation of the throne seemed about to be shaken by the prevalence of an opinion so formidable to the peculiar interests of the queen, the clergy laboured to prove, that, all regular power being of God, kings reign by his appointment and as his vice-gerents. It is no wonder, therefore, that James, who was at all times better fitted for adjusting the terms of an argument than for pursuing the more active duties of the regal office, should have indulged his imagination in the unrestrained exercise of theoretical despotism in both divisions of his kingdom. In practice, he was a very mild ruler, hardly ever incurring blame except for his lenity towards the Roman Catholics, against whom he was loath to execute in their full severity the dreadful provisions of the penal laws, by which Parliament had deemed it necessary to guard the Protestant faith.

The period at which the sceptre of Great Britain fell into the hands of Charles, required either a sovereign of great warlike talents and resolution, who would have found employment for the growing wealth and rising spirit of his people, or one possessing much political wisdom, who could have preserved the balance of the ancient constitution, without sacrificing any part of the prerogative indispensably requisite for the vigour of his administration. The young king unfortunately inherited a set of maxims which, though perfectly consistent with the actual government of the country during a century and a half, were really at variance with the true spirit of constitutional law, as well as with the enlarged views of the greater number of his subjects. He saw not

\* British Critic, No. XX. p. 396.

that the political machinery of the state was becoming more and more unfitted for the purposes which it was meant to serve; and that, in order to be adapted to the wants or fancies of his age, it must undergo a slight process of remodelling under the eye of the national representatives.

Whether in the position which Charles was doomed to occupy, viewed in reference to the spirit of the times, it would have been possible to negotiate such a treaty with the popular party as would at once have satisfied their demands, and secured for the executive the necessary degree of power, is a question which experience has not even yet enabled us to solve. The history of the French revolution does not contribute to strengthen the belief that concessions, however extensive, will appease the ravenous appetite for innovation. Even in our own country, where there was less ground for complaint, the demands of the parliamentarians were at length carried so far as to indicate, in the least ambiguous manner possible, that the crown was considered as a mere incumbrance. It is true, as Clarendon remarks, that the majority of the members of the House of Commons had originally no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of Church and State. But these moderate views proved no security to the constitution. For, he adds, all inventions were set on foot from the beginning to work on them and corrupt them by suggestions of the dangers which threatened all that was precious to the subject in their liberty and their property; and then, by infusing terrible apprehensions into some, and by working on the fears of others, the ambitious demagogues induced them to become their tools, and, in the end, to carry matters much farther than had been intended by the first advocates of freedom.

It has, indeed, been justly observed, that the course of events had rendered necessary a great change in the condition of mankind throughout Europe; for the political system was constructed on a scale which bore no relation to the increased and complicated interests of society. The impending revolution, therefore, was not destined to be only a partial change, as had sometimes happened when the rule and power were merely transferred, for a space, to the nobles, or to the hierarchy, or to the absolute sovereign. Nor was it to be only a temporary concession to the excited desires of the people; an alteration which simply reduced the privileges of one class, and relieved the miseries of another. But, in its wide pretensions, it implied a total change of all the acknowledged principles of human action. It contradicted the fundamental doctrines of political jurisprudence as then received throughout the great European monarchies. It undertook to de-

fine new orders in social life, to create new rights, and to open up new prospects.

It was long doubtful, as D'Israeli remarks, in which country the great revolution was to commence. The minority of Louis the Thirteenth exhibits, in the ambition of the turbulent princes of France, and in the republican spirit of the Duc de Rohan and the Hugonots, some faint outlines of the revolution under our Charles the First, which it had preceded. In an ingenious parallel, we might detect some very apt resemblances. But there were peculiar reasons which rendered it more than probable that the important struggle would commence in England. The establishment of the reformed faith had habituated our countrymen to a greater freedom of inquiry than their neighbours yet possessed; while a long and luxurious peace had raised up among the commons a new class of men, enjoying a degree of weight and influence in the nation, to which their rank in the state had never before entitled them.\*

If we weigh well the facts now stated, we shall be satisfied that no one can read with advantage a life of Charles the First, who has not studied carefully the temper and projects of the age in which his lot was cast; and, further, that no one can do justice to the motives on which he professed to act, who has not made himself acquainted with the maxims on which all European governments were at that time administered. To try the unfortunate king at the tribunal of modern principles, is not less absurd than it is cruel and unjust; and yet, in the popular biographies of that monarch, nothing is more common than to place his conduct in the same light in which we should examine the proceedings of the several princes of the Hanoverian dynasty. If a similar standard were applied to the characters of even the greatest statesmen, lawyers, and divines, who flourished before the era of the Commonwealth, we should find them extremely deficient in many of those qualities which, in our days, constitute the excellence of public men.

Charles, the second son of James the First, was born at Dunfermline, in Scotland, on the 9th of November, 1600. Being a weak child, his baptism was hastened, and was solemnized in the presence of the Prince of Rohan and his brother Soubise, of whom the former is well known as the leader of the French Hugonots. His constitution improved as he advanced in the years of boyhood, and he afterwards exhibited considerable activity in the sports and exercises which belong to youth. He still laboured, however, under a natural defect, which proved the

\* D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First, vol. i. pp. 2, 3.

source of no small inconvenience when he ascended the throne; namely, an impediment in his speech, which, it is said, was wont chiefly to manifest itself whenever he became earnest in discourse, and is thought to have in some measure given rise to that taciturnity for which he was remarkable. It was in his fifth year that he was created Duke of York, and invested with the insignia of the Bath; on which occasion twelve young noblemen, as companions, were raised to the same dignity.

Miss Aiken has collected from the several writers of his early life, that he was "blemished with a supposed obstinacy;" and also, that the weakness of his body in childhood inclined him to retirement; and that, as the imperfection of his utterance rendered discourse unpleasant, he was "suspected to be somewhat perverse." She has likewise discovered that he was noted by his mother and others who were about him, "to be very wilful and obstinate;" and that the old Scotch lady, his nurse, was wont to affirm so much; and that he was of a "very evil nature even in his infancy;" and that the lady who afterwards took charge of him cannot deny but that he was beyond measure "wilful and unthankful."

Such qualities constitute a good foundation for the structure which the ingenious authoress had resolved to erect. Her scheme of history required that Charles should be represented as wilful, obstinate, and perverse; and she therefore culls from the angry expressions of cross nurses a number of unfavourable epithets wherewith to shade his opening character and to create a prejudice in the mind of the reader. What inferences can be drawn from the temper of a sickly child, under three years of age!

It is admitted that, as he advanced in age, other qualities began to unfold themselves which were observed with approbation and respect. His father attempted to inspire him with the love of literature, on the honours of which he himself placed the greatest value. Nor did the young duke disappoint the paternal cares which were lavished on him; for we find that, at the age of ten, he could go through all the forms of a regular disputation on theology, and display some acquaintance with the polemics which exercised the ingenuity of those times. There was not, in fact, any royal family then in Europe which could equal the English court in the early promise put forth by its well educated princes. James directed an unwearied attention to the improvement of his children, in manners as well as in intellectual accomplishments; and the fruits of his anxiety appeared to great advantage in the acquirements of Henry, of Charles, and even of Elizabeth, the future queen of Bohemia. We are told that Jonson the poet, struck with the amiable zeal of the king in discharging these first



duties of a parent, addressed him in the following rather familiar terms, though veiled under the disguise of a masque :

“ You are an honest, good man, and have care of your bairns ! ”

It is further related that the children of James were well instructed in music and dancing ; and that his majesty desired them to keep up their dancing privately, though they should whistle and sing to one another for music. To provoke his eldest son to apply more closely to his studies, he told him that his brother Charles, who already loved his books, would prove more able in the management of affairs than he, who consumed the greater part of the day in the tilt yard, and passionately pursued his military exercises. This fatherly admonition was received in silence ; but when his tutor, Sir Abraham Newton, reiterated the king's reprimand, the prince asked whether he really thought that his brother would prove a good scholar. The knight replied in the affirmative. “ Then,” exclaimed Henry, “ will I make him Archbishop of Canterbury.”

At all events, it is manifest that a spark of rivalry had been early kindled between the brothers ; and the scholarship of the youngest had been so frequently employed to stimulate the industry of the heir apparent, that the latter thought himself justified in taking a good natured revenge. One day the two princes, with Doctor Abbot, and other noblemen, were waiting in the privy chamber for an audience. Henry, in allusion to Charles's proficiency in his studies, placed the primate's cap on his head, observing that, “ if he continued a good boy, and followed his books, he would in due time make him Archbishop of Canterbury.” The little duke indignantly flung down the cap and trampled on it. He had heard, it would seem, too often of the future archbishopric, and the taunts from his heroic brother stung him into an ebullition of momentary resentment.

From this anecdote of the royal boys, as Mr. D'Israeli reminds his readers, their contemporaries, according to the taste of the times, draw the most opposite inferences. One detects a mystical presage of the fall of episcopacy under the administration of Charles ; to another it seemed peculiarly ominous of the fall of the archbishop himself, who was afterwards suspended from his office by the displeasure of his sovereign ; a third, with the malignity of a republican, accepts it as an evidence of the latent sullenness and obstinacy of the future monarch ; while an ultra royalist, in the depth of his wisdom, discovers in it a sign of great bigness of spirit, and a humour that did not love jesting or levity.

The fraternal intercourse between the sons of James was however rarely interrupted. There are still extant several familiar

notes written in English, French, and Latin, from the Duke Charles to Prince Henry; the amusement, perhaps of the hour, or the playful exercises of his studies. "Sweet, sweet brother, I thank you for your letter. I will give any thing I have to you, but my toys and my books."\*

When Charles, upon the death of his brother, found himself the heir of the crown, he saw the propriety of turning his attention to those harder pursuits which he had hitherto avoided; and it was not long before he became an adept in most of the accomplishments valued by the gentlemen of the age. By such active sports, too, he greatly invigorated his frame. Hence, he was described by one of his contemporaries as a "laborious fieldsman;" and another tells us that he was thought to be the most dexterous manager of the great horse of any man in the three nations, and a sharp marksman.

At the age of sixteen he was created Prince of Wales, and surrounded with a court; but he did not, as sometimes happens, avail himself of the power or influence thereby acquired to disturb his father's government. On the contrary, he continued to pursue the studies to which his earlier youth was attached, and to increase those stores of knowledge on which his first reputation was founded. So extensive, indeed, were his acquirements in the fine arts, that "he thought, if driven by necessity, he could get his living" by practising some one of them as a common trade. In a similar style of conversation, he is said to have declared that if he were compelled to take any particular profession for a livelihood, he could not be a lawyer; for, said he, "I cannot defend a bad cause, nor yield in a good one"—a principle on which the whole course of his future life was shaped. Laud, on whose authority the last anecdote is given, added what has been considered an ill-omened wish, "that he might *thus* for ever prosper in his great affairs!"

It is readily admitted, even by those least friendly to Charles, that he gave all the encouragement in his power to learning and science. The civil dissensions, which embittered his reign, cut short many fair designs for the embellishment of social life, and deprived many eminent scholars and distinguished artists of their most munificent patron and best friend. A lively impulse had, however, been given to taste and the fine arts; and notwithstanding the temporary check they sustained, no ground was permanently lost. Manners had been refined and civilized; the nobler springs of thought and action had been moved; and a race of men was formed, who carried into civil war itself principles and

\* D'Israeli, vol. i. p. 16, &c.

feelings which powerfully restrained its license, and deprived it in a great measure of its usual ferocity.

“Early in the reign the House of Lords had appointed a committee, of which the Duke of Buckingham was a member, to inquire into the state of the public schools, and the method of the education pursued in them. From this investigation seems to have sprung an academy established in London, under the title of *Musæum Minervæ*, by the royal patent granted to Sir Francis Kynaston, or Kingston, an esquire of the body, who was appointed its regent. In conformity with the spirit of the age, none were to be admitted as students but such as could prove themselves gentlemen by birth. Many professors were appointed, and their courses embraced philosophy, geometry, astronomy, medicine, music, languages, painting, architecture, riding, fortification, antiquities, and the study of medals. A library, a museum, philosophical apparatus, and a collection of paintings, statues and antiques were attached to the college. Owing to the state of the king's affairs, the design was never carried into full effect. About the period of Charles's death, that noted projector, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, made an effort, however, either to revive this scheme, or establish something similar; but he appears to have undertaken to instruct in all branches himself. His lectures ‘on the art of well-speaking’ attracted the sarcastic notice of Butler. One of them was announced as ‘designed for the ladies and honourable women of this nation’—the first instance probably in this country of a popular lecture addressed to females.”

It is well observed by Rapin, that it is no easy matter to give a just and exact character of Charles amidst the excessive commendations bestowed on him by some, and the calumnies wherewith others have attempted to blacken his reputation. If the parties born in his reign had died with him, as another author observes, we might find in the histories of that time, composed after the troubles were terminated, an impartiality which would aid us in forming a true judgment of this prince's character; but the same parties continuing in the following reigns with a mutual animosity, it may be safely averred there is no English historian impartial on this subject. Some have had no other view than to vindicate the king; and others, whose aim was to justify the parliament, could not do so without calumniating the monarch, and rendering him odious.\*

Indeed it is not possible to obtain a correct view of the qualities which distinguished the mind of Charles; for it has been assumed by those writers who, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, have been unable to make him appear despicable, that the public and private character of the monarch are totally unconnected. But it is as impossible to form a just conception of the character of a king, without becoming acquainted with his

\* Fellowes's *Historical Sketch of Charles the First*, p. 61.

private history, as it is to form a just conception of the individual, without becoming acquainted with the times in which he lived. It is not, therefore, surprising that those who hold the resolution of examining into the private character of Charles I. apart from his public one, should judge of the latter, not as displayed in the seventeenth century, but as if the monarch had lived and acted under their own eyes in the nineteenth.

In the opinion of a candid and able historian, the characteristics of Charles's mind were inflexible firmness, constancy of purpose, perseverance to obtain his object, and fortitude to suffer for it;—and these are the elements which form the beautiful unity of a strong character. We should, however, observe that this strength of character is not necessarily associated with the most comprehensive understanding, any more than the most comprehensive understanding is necessarily supported by this moral force. Hence, the stronger the character of the man, the stronger may be its errors; and thus its very strength may become its greatest infirmity. In speculating upon the Life of this unfortunate ruler, through all the stages of his varied existence from the throne to the scaffold, we may discover the same intellectual and moral being. Depressed by fortune beneath the humblest of his people, the king himself remained unchanged; and whether we come to reproach or to sympathise, something of pity and terror must blend with the story of a noble mind wrestling with an unconquerable fate.\*

Authorized by the doctrines of the age, by his education, and by the natural gravity of his own mind, to ascend the throne as the anointed of Heaven, it was his doom to see the *jus divinum* of his crown trampled upon, the might of his magnificent hierarchy overwhelmed, the civil institutions of his kingdom swept away, all that he deemed sacred profaned, and everything subverted which he had considered the most firmly established; while, in their stead, he beheld new doctrines and new practices introduced, alien to his habits and startling to his imagination. In this unparalleled state of affairs, however, the courage of Charles did not quail. On the contrary, throughout the long, fearful, and dubious conflict, he uniformly appears the most resolute and interesting personage that mixes in the scene. When the struggle was over, the king came forward and closed his career by a memorable death; and while he was covered with execration and obloquy as the Tyrant by one faction, he was hailed as the Martyr by the tears of the greater part of the nation. It is difficult to believe that the man who thus lived and thus died could have been the individual whom it has always been the supposed inte-

\* D'Israeli, vol. i. p. 6.

rest of a successful party to represent him. Tyrant and martyr are rarer characters than mankind are accustomed to consider them; and they often vanish before the impartial student, who, searching neither for the one nor the other, dares to seek in history for the true lineaments of the sovereign who disputed the rights which his people claimed, and at length fell by their hands.

Considering that James saw very clearly the numerous disadvantages which might arise from the union of his son with a Catholic princess, it is surprising that he should have set his heart so earnestly on a matrimonial connection with Spain, at that time one of the most powerful and bigoted countries in Europe. It was one of his maxims, wiser perhaps than some others which he took greater care to promulgate, that the King of England should have a wife of the same religion with himself, by which means many fears would be allayed, and many disputes avoided. "Discrepancy in matters of faith," said he, "produces discrepancy in all other matters, and the dissension of your divines will create discord among the people, following the example derived from yourselves." "*Discrepans religio discrepantes semper mores secum introducit; et dissensio vestrorum theologorum discordiam etiam in populo gignit, dum a vobis ipsi exemplum sumunt.*"\*

The marriage with a daughter of France, which actually took place, was far from being propitious either to the domestic peace of Charles, or to the welfare of his kingdom. The train of priests and other spiritual dependents, whom Henrietta Maria brought with her to the court of her husband, gave great uneasiness to himself, as well as offence to the public; and it admits of little doubt, that, if he had not dismissed them of his own accord, the parliament would have interposed its authority or advice to rid the land of a grievance which it bore so impatiently.

Miss Aiken has collected some notices relative to the introduction of the young queen, which, as they are new to the general reader, can hardly fail to be interesting. At Amiens, where Mary de' Medici took leave of her daughter, she presented her with a letter in her own name and handwriting, but of which Richelieu was the real author. This document has fortunately been preserved to the present time, and is on many accounts very curious and important.

"After some general exhortations to piety and devotion, and customary phrases on the nothingness of this world compared with eternity, the princess is enjoined to recollect that she is a daughter of the Church, and that this is the most exalted title she can ever bear; and to pray constantly that the precious gifts of faith and grace may be preserved to her, and that she may rather lose her life than fall from them. She is

\* Basilikon Doron, p. 83.

reminded of the devotion of her ancestor St. Louis, and exhorted to be, like him, firm and zealous in her religion, and never to listen to anything, nor suffer anything to be said in her presence, contrary to the faith. 'We have the promise,' it is added, 'of the late King of Great Britain, and of the king his son, that such things shall not be said; but, on your part, you must show so firm a resolution, and such severity on this point, that any one making such an attempt may perceive at once that you cannot endure such license. Your zeal and courage will be properly exerted on this matter; and with the knowledge you possess of everything necessary to your salvation, your humility will be approved if you shut your ears against all discourse on religion, leaving the Church to speak for you.' To confirm her faith, she is recommended to open her mind to those who have the care of her conscience, to frequent the sacraments, and to communicate on the first Sunday of every month, and at all the feasts of Jesus Christ and of his holy mother, to whom, as being named after her, she is exhorted to pay a peculiar devotion.

"The next duties enjoined upon her, respect the Catholic subjects of her husband, whom she is so to patronize with him, that they may not relapse into the misery whence her marriage had rescued them: she is to be to them another Esther, who had the grace from God to be the defence and deliverance of her people by her intercession with Ahasuerus. 'Through them,' she is told, 'God will bless even you in this world; all that you do for them he will account as done unto himself. Forget not then, my daughter, God has sent you into that country for them, for they are his people, who have suffered many years: welcome them with affection, listen to them with willingness, protect them with assiduity; it is your duty; they are worthy of regard not only on account of the afflictions they have endured, but still more for the sake of the religion in the cause of which they have suffered.'

"In treating of her duties to her husband, she is told that she ought to love his soul and seek his salvation, and daily to pray, and to cause special prayer to be made, that God would draw him to the true religion, in which, and even for which, his grandmother died. 'She has this wish for her grandchild in heaven, and it ought to be your ardent desire on earth: it is one of the designs which God has respecting you: he will make you the Bertha of our days: she, like you, a daughter of France, like you a Queen of England, obtained, by her holy life and her prayers, the gift of faith for her husband and for the city which you are about to enter.' This holy desire, it is suggested, ought to be a motive with her to put a force upon her own humour, and submit herself to the will and inclinations of the king in everything except religion, in which she is again exhorted to firmness and perseverance, on pain of her mother's malediction. In the conclusion of the letter, it is said to be one of the chief interests of France and England to be inseparably united, and that the queen should make herself the bond between them. She is then enjoined to use with great discretion 'the license which the English manner of living allows to ladies;' and sound rules are given for her deportment towards her household, and her own conduct and behaviour; but to these common-places of moral instruction, inserted by her crafty

counsellors merely as matters of custom and decorum, it was probably not expected that she should pay very serious attention. The real purport of the letter, to prompt her to make herself the head of a formidable faction within her husband's kingdom, was most consonant to the temper and inclinations of Henrietta, as well as to the secret views of the French cabinet ; and of this fatal suggestion she seems never to have lost sight."

The king met his bride at Dover on the 13th of June, and proceeded with her to Canterbury, whence on the following day they journeyed to Gravesend, where the royal barge was in attendance to convey them to Whitehall. Henrietta was at this time little more than fifteen years of age, and the smallness of her stature made her appear still younger. Her shape is said to have been somewhat awry, and her features were not regular; a pair of bright black eyes, and a sprightly and agreeable countenance, formed therefore her chief pretensions to beauty, as a lively style of talking was her principal claim to the reputation of talent. On her first introduction to Charles, she knelt down and kissed his hand, saying, as he raised and cordially embraced her, that she was come into his kingdom to be at his service and command. Afterwards, remarking that her youth and ignorance of the country might easily lead her into errors, which however she would be constantly willing to correct, she begged as a favour that he would engage always to let her hear of her faults from himself. He gave her a promise to this effect, and, as our author suggests, observed it with more exactness than she in truth desired; for beneath this air of diffidence and humility, which she had probably been instructed to assume in the commencement, Henrietta is accused of having concealed great haughtiness, an impetuous will, and a turn for intrigue, which it was the business of her French attendants to improve to the utmost. At the first public meal to which the royal pair sat down together, her majesty's confessor, taking his station beside her chair, warned her not to partake of the venison and pheasant carved to her by her husband, because "it was the eve of St. John Baptist, and was to be fasted; and" that she should take heed how she gave ill example, or a scandal, at her first arrival." Nevertheless she ate heartily of both, to the great consolation of the Protestant by-standers, who, on this slight foundation, flattered themselves with the hope of her speedy conversion.

It had become customary among the popular leaders both in England and Scotland, to charge the sovereign with the intention of favouring popery, whenever any measure was adopted by the court which did not tally with the precise views of religious reformation recommended by the more rigid professors. The mar-

riage of the king with a zealous Romanist afforded a plausible pretext for reiterating such suspicions, and for enlisting against him the strongest prejudices of the multitude. The Puritans in both countries withdrew their allegiance from the government, because his majesty would not reduce the church to their model; and at length the spirit of enthusiasm diffused itself among all classes to such an extent as to disappoint all the ordinary views of human prudence, and to disturb the operation of every motive which usually influences mankind.

At an early epoch in the reign of James, the Scottish parliament passed an act by which all the church lands, not yet alienated from the clergy, were vested in the crown; a measure devised by the nobles, who at that time dominated in the councils of the young king, as an indirect but sure expedient for securing to themselves the larger share of those possessions. The eyes of the monarch were soon opened to the nefarious purposes meant to be served by the Statute of Annexation, which he denominated "a vile and pernicious act." In the *Basilikon Doron*, accordingly, he entreats his son, the prince, to annul it, should he ever possess sufficient power; having found that the ecclesiastical order was basely robbed, while the necessities of the royal household were not thereby relieved, though the latter object was one of the ostensible motives on which the whole scheme was founded.

When Charles went to visit his native dominions in the year 1633, he made an attempt to follow up his father's views, and to recover for the Church some part of the property of which it had been so dishonestly deprived. He set the example of restitution, by surrendering such lands as the crown still retained, and called upon the nobility to exercise a similar self-denial. But the zeal of his majesty excited anger rather than respect. The great barons, refusing to divest themselves of the domains which constituted no small portion of their wealth, secretly gave their countenance to the Puritanical party, who professed to dread the revival of Popish superstition much more than the load of hopeless poverty under which they laboured. Charles at first yielded every thing to his northern subjects, and was pleased to hear himself described as a contented king among a contented people, while he had in fact placed in the hands of weak friends or concealed enemies the means of aiming a fatal blow against the stability of his throne.

In a word, it was on the plea of religion that the civil war was begun. The Scottish covenanters, although their mouths were full of the most solemn professions of loyalty and pacific intentions, anticipated their southern neighbours, in making preparations for the struggle which they perceived to be inevitable. One of their first cares was to disperse by means of pedlars, who were



accustomed to traverse England in every direction, a Brief Declaration to clear themselves of *all slanders*, and especially of the imputed design of throwing off their allegiance and crossing the Tweed in arms. Orders were soon transmitted from the supreme committee of the insurgents at Edinburgh for a general training of the men of military age. Ammunition and accoutrements were secretly supplied by the Scottish merchants resident in Holland; while officers, who had served with reputation in the continental armies, hastened to bring the aid of their skill and valour. Alexander Lesley, one of the most distinguished of these leaders, had left Sweden, on the invitation of the Earl of Rothes, a covenanting lord, to take the chief command of the northern rebels. Loans were raised to a small extent, and family plate was contributed by the more ardent among the partisans; but their chief reliance was on the popular party in England, whose aid they employed both industry and address to secure.

Whitelock relates that their remonstrances, declarations, and pamphlets were dispersed, and their emissaries and agents insinuated into the company of all who were any way disappointed, discontented, or galled at the proceedings of the state. "The gentlemen who had been imprisoned for the loan or distrained for ship-money, or otherwise disobliged, had applications made to them from the covenanters, and secretly favoured and assisted their designs, and so did many others, especially those inclined to the Presbyterian government, or whom the public proceedings had any way distasted." It appears that their eyes were likewise turned to foreign countries. Baillic, one of the Scottish ministers and a member of the assembly of divines, communicates to a correspondent in the north the following intelligence: "We were hopeful of powerful assistance from abroad, if we would have required it. France would not have failed to embrace our protection. Holland and we were but one in our cause. They had been much irritated lately by the king's assistance of the Spaniard. Denmark was not satisfied with many of our prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the crown of Britain since his war with the emperor. Sweden was fully ours, to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germany."

But the Scots resolved to make no use of their foreign allies until their case should become desperate: they still hoped to gain Charles to the Presbyterian interest by fair means, which it is acknowledged would not have been so easily accomplished, had they induced the French, Dutch, or Swedes, to effect a landing in any part of the kingdom. Besides, these auxiliaries were either Lutherans or Papists; and to ask their assistance was described

by the preachers as being equivalent to "leaning on the broken reed of Egypt." They considered, moreover, their national poverty; the difficulty of raising pay for a large body of troops; and the intolerable insolence of such strangers when called upon to fight at their own expense. But the most powerful dissuasive against calling in the aid of foreigners, was founded on the consideration that any such a league must have made England their foe; the evil which of all others they most deprecated, and in which their adversaries were the most desirous to involve them.

It appears, however, that though such were the sentiments of the divines and of the more honest among the laity, the covenanting lords, with whom all along secular considerations had borne the principal sway, showed themselves less reserved. They did not indeed proceed so far as to invite foreign troops into their country, but they did not refuse to intrigue with Chambers, a Scottish priest, nephew to Cox, the papal nuncio, and almoner to Cardinal Richelieu, who was twice sent by that minister to inquire into the cause of the discontents which distracted his native country, and to encourage the disaffected. By means of this agent, whose conduct was so unworthy of his office, they entered into a secret treaty with the French government; in pursuance of which a large quantity of arms was procured from Holland, and a hundred thousand crowns placed at the disposal of General Lesley.

"It might," says Miss Aikin, "have appeared less inconsistent with the professions which the Covenanters had not yet desisted from making, to have suffered the first act of hostility to proceed from the king, and then to have given to their arms the plea of self-defence; but it was not the temper of the men to forego a solid and important advantage, for what they perhaps regarded as a vain punctilio, and no sooner was the royal army embodied at York than, by a simultaneous and preconcerted movement, the king's castles in Scotland were all assailed, and with the exception of Caerlavrock, every one, either by surprise or treachery, fell into their hands. In expectation of the attack of an English fleet under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton, the port of Leith was about the same time fortified by the hands of the whole population of the capital; noblemen and gentlemen labouring as volunteers upon the ramparts, and even ladies of the highest rank, in a wild transport of religious or patriotic enthusiasm, mingling with the throng, and lending their personal assistance in the conveyance of sand and rubbish."

The aid which the papal nuncio afforded to the Scottish covenanters supplies another instance of the hostility of the Romish Church to the Protestantism of England. The coalition is indeed singular, when the character and intentions of the two parties are considered; but it is not without example in the religious

history of this country. Jesuits are known to have imitated the usages of the Puritans, and even to have suggested innovations in the established worship, in order that they might thereby undermine or otherwise weaken the great bulwark of the Reformation. The same fact is of some value, as tending to throw light on the pretended loyalty of the Scotch during the early stages of the civil war. They were never wearied with making professions and protestations of regard for the king's person, of allegiance to his government, and of the most unlimited obedience to his just authority. But, meantime, they were making the circuit of Europe to find out allies whom they might bribe or seduce to take arms against him. French, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes were courted to join the confederacy which they meditated, and of which the object was to change by force the constitution of the country, compel their sovereign to adopt a religion which he disliked, and to subject the whole nation to the restraints of a vulgar fanaticism. Nay, they carried their loyalty to such an extent as to wage war against him in his own name, and to insist upon being paid from his exchequer for having violated his territory, defied him in the field, thwarted his plans, and compelled his friends to an ignominious retreat. Nor can these remarks be limited to the Scots who arranged themselves under the banner of the Covenant; for those about the person of the king indulged, it has been alleged, in similar freedom of conscience. Charles exacted an obligation from his followers that they would oppose, to the utmost hazard of life and fortune, all seditions, rebellions, and conspiracies, especially such as should come veiled under pretence of religion. "The Scots," says Clarendon, "took it to a man, without grieving their conscience or mending their manners." But it must not be concealed, that fickleness or want of sincerity appeared among many others besides the natives of North Britain. Lords Say and Brook were the only individuals who declined to take the oath dictated by the king; and yet every one knows how inefficient it proved to secure the loyalty of Essex, Arundel, Holland, and many other peers, who had pledged life, fortune, and honour in the royal cause.

The English people, however, generally speaking, were not the aggressors in the melancholy war which threw so many families into mourning. It was unquestionably in the reign of James, and even in the writings of that monarch himself, that the first precise claim of absolute power was made in behalf of the crown, and a solemn, elaborate exposition attempted of the duty of passive obedience on the part of the subject. That these doctrines should have called forth contradictions and denials, and led to the angry assertion of opposite opinions, was clearly unavoid-

able; and if extravagant notions were alternately maintained on both sides, in the course of a controversy which could not be altogether dispassionate, the blame should undoubtedly rest with those who gave the challenge, and courted that appeal to first principles which is exceedingly hazardous in all political theories. To a certain extent, indeed, such discussions were become inevitable. Not only had the age avowed itself more speculative and intelligent than formerly, but the wealth and numbers of the middle class had much increased, while the decay of the great nobility and the dilapidation of the royal demesnes, had deranged the old balance of the constitution. A crisis had, accordingly, arrived, the claims of which could not possibly be determined without a thorough examination of those reasons upon which the pretensions of the conflicting parties were rested.

But, though the final struggle itself was, perhaps, unavoidable, there are circumstances connected with it which reflect no honour on the councillors by whom Charles was guided in his preliminary measures. The cruel imprisonments, the finings, the pillory, the abominable brandings, the cutting of ears, and slitting of noses, which were inflicted on the authors of popular pamphlets and seditious harangues, could not be justified either by law or good policy. For this bad example the government was responsible; and it has been observed, that it was not followed to any great extent by the parliamentary party when in possession of power and exasperated to the highest degree.

The dissolution of the first Parliament was the true beginning of the contest between the king and the representatives of the people; the latter refusing to grant supplies until they had obtained a redress of grievances. War, indeed, may be said to have been proclaimed when he announced to the next House of Commons, that if they were not more liberal than their predecessors, he would have recourse to other councils, raise a revenue by his own authority, and govern for the future without their assistance. These threats were unhappily carried into execution: members were put under arrest for their speeches in Parliament; money was extorted by forced loans, monopolies, and ship-money; and, finally, commissions were issued to fine and imprison all who should resist these violent exactions.

One of the most remarkable passages in the history of Charles, as Mr. Fellowes has observed, is his attempt to seize the five arraigned members by his personal appearance in the House of Commons, which was followed up by his unsuccessful search for them in the city, and his sudden retreat to Hampton Court and thence to York. According to contemporary documents on the subject, it appears that the king had, recently before, not only got

together an irregular guard consisting of discharged officers and others, but had prevailed on a number of the students in the inns of court to enrol themselves as an additional protection—that the day previous to his visit to the House he had ordered them to be in attendance at an hour's warning—that on the very morning a hundred stand of arms, with gunpowder and ammunition, had been brought from the Tower to Whitehall—and that Charles proceeded to the Commons with a tumultuous escort of about five hundred men, many of them having pistols and other firearms, who would not allow the doors to be shut after his entry, and used much threatening and insolent language during the whole extraordinary scene. It is also stated by Clarendon that, after the proscribed members took refuge in the city, it was proposed by Lord Digby to go after them with a select company of gentlemen, whereof Lunsford was one, and to seize and bring them away, dead or alive.

However, then, we may condemn many of the measures pursued by the Parliament before and during this calamitous war; however much we may lament the murder of the monarch, and feel inclined to venerate the sovereign authority thus trampled upon and set at nought; we cannot help, at the same time, deploring those arbitrary measures which gave an origin to these evils and led to such a miserable catastrophe. Nor can we, in common justice, avoid making due allowance for men, who, being endowed with that quick apprehension of their rights inherent in Englishmen, attached to their national privileges, and resentful of injury, were prepared to encounter every peril, and yield to every sacrifice, for the preservation of their liberties.\*

But, as we have already remarked, the current of feeling in the present age runs only in one direction. The violences committed by the royalist party are exaggerated and condemned in the most furious manner, while the seditious arts and unwarrantable pretensions, which disgraced the other side, are either studiously palliated or boldly vindicated as the legitimate resources of self-defence. Nothing, for example, can be more manifest to the dispassionate reader than that the chiefs of the popular faction used all means to excite the rage and suspicion of the multitude against the king; and that whenever the public mind appeared to subside towards repose, they had instant recourse to the propagation of groundless rumours and fictitious alarms. Thus when on one occasion, the Parliament adjourned, a committee of both Houses continued to sit, armed with extraordinary powers, and, it is added, many designs were in agitation. "I hear," writes the

\* *Historical Sketches*, pp. v. vi. vii.

“ Secretary Nicholas to his master, “ there are diverse meetings  
 “ at Chelsea, at the Lord Mandeville’s house, and elsewhere, by  
 “ Pym and others, to consult what is best to be done at their next  
 “ meeting in Parliament; and I believe they will, in the first  
 “ place, fall on some plausible thing that may ingratiate them in  
 “ the people’s good opinion, which is their anchor-hold and only  
 “ interest; and if I am not much misinformed, that will be either  
 “ upon Papists or upon some act for expunging officers and  
 “ councillors here, according to the Scottish precedent; or on  
 “ both together.” The London apprentices were still more  
 ready to hear the voice of Pym announcing the horrors of popery,  
 than the discharged officers were to obey the summons of Lord  
 Digby, inviting them to protect the person of the sovereign. No  
 more than a gentle hint from the proper quarter was necessary to  
 marshal the mob for an attack on Lambeth palace, having for  
 its object robbery, devastation, and perhaps murder; and when  
 punishment was inflicted, according to the fashion of the times, a  
 demand was made for a tribute of sympathy and regret from all  
 the lovers of freedom.

Charles has been called the *martyr* of religion, while he was, in  
 fact, its *victim*. Accused of viewing with a favourable eye the  
 Roman ritual, merely because he allowed his wife to adhere to  
 the faith in which she was educated, he was, at the very same  
 moment, denounced by the Catholic powers as an enemy to their  
 communion. Those of his subjects who professed the ancient  
 form, grateful for the mildness of his administration, were not  
 unwilling to aid him in his struggle with the Parliament; being  
 aware that the latter would not rest satisfied with any law which  
 permitted even the most private exercise of their worship. But  
 the Pope interposed his authority to check the overflowing of this  
 kind disposition towards an heretical prince. Addressing his  
 nuncio, he says, “ You are to command the Catholics of England  
 “ in general that they suddenly desist from making such offers of  
 “ men towards this northern expedition as we hear they have  
 “ done, little to the advantage of their discretion: and likewise it  
 “ is requisite, considering the penalty already imposed, that they  
 “ be not too forward with money, more than what law and duty  
 “ enjoin them to pay. Declare unto the best of the peers and  
 “ gentlemen, by word of mouth or letter, that they ought not to  
 “ express any averseness in case the high court of Parliament  
 “ be called, nor show any discontent at the acts which do not  
 “ aim point-blank at religion. Advise the clergy to desist from  
 “ that foolish, nay, rather illiterate and childish custom of distin-  
 “ guishing between the Protestant and Puritan doctrine. And  
 “ especially this error is so much the greater when they attempt

“to prove that Protestantism is a degree nearer the Catholic faith than the other; for since both of them are without the verge of the church, it is needless hypocrisy to speak of it; yea, it begets more malice than its worth.”

It may be noticed, that some Roman Catholics, a short time before, had assembled at London under the auspices of the nuncio, for the purpose of recommending a loyal contribution to be made by all persons of their religion throughout the kingdom, whether priests or laymen. By that expedient a small pecuniary aid was obtained for the king; but it was at the expense of much popular odium against the court, and more especially against the queen and her religion.

On the other hand, Charles suffered not a little from the hostility of that class of professors who, while they set an undue value on certain doctrines, evolved during the heat of the Reformation, overlooked or denied the importance of the sacerdotal character, as connected with apostolical institution. In the commencement of that great ecclesiastical revolution which shook or menaced all the thrones of Europe, there prevailed everywhere very lax notions in regard as well to the foundation whereon the Christian Church is really supported, as to the source whence her ministers derived their authority in sacred things. Having been accustomed to esteem the Pope as the fountain of all power, whether in relation to their sacraments or discipline, the clergy were at a loss where to look for a substitute to his Holiness; not recollecting, in the first moments of ardent discussion, that, in every bishop, duly consecrated, there were lodged the same official attributes which they were wont to venerate in the Roman pontiff. Hence, most of the reformed churches were originally Erastian; reposing in the civil ruler that undefined supremacy which they only agreed in ravishing from the successors of St. Peter. It was not till a later period, when reflection came to the aid of zeal, that the Protestant divines learned to distinguish, in their predecessors of the Roman communion, the valid priesthood from the erroneous doctrine and superstitious usage. Laud, who enjoyed the confidence of the king, had formed correct views of ecclesiastical polity; a praise to which he has a just claim, whatever may be thought of his practical wisdom in enforcing its principles at the troubled period during which he occupied the primacy. His opinions on this subject became extremely unpopular, being connected, it was thought, not only with the divine right of his own order, but also with that of the temporal sovereign whose cause in the general mind was already associated with the interests of episcopacy.

Abbot could not be induced to co-operate with his more fervid

brother. He was one of those who wished to disclaim all alliance and affinity with the Roman Catholics, and to derive the visible Church through the Berengarians and Albigenses to the Wicliffites and Hussites, and thence to the later reformers. Laud, on the contrary, traced it from the Apostles through the Church of Rome and other communions in the East and South; maintaining that without bishops there could not be any true church. These opinions, boldly stated in a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, many years prior to the king's quarrel with the Parliament, had drawn upon him a public censure, which Abbot, then vice-chancellor, was believed to have prompted; and this had proved the foundation of a lasting enmity between the two prelates.

"Nor, in fact, was the dispute a trifling one, or void of practical application: on the question of apostolical succession, almost the whole controversy between the Presbyterian and Prelatical, the Calvinistic and Arminian parties, might be made to hinge; and the different modes of deciding it manifestly led to directly opposite systems of ecclesiastical polity, both foreign and domestic. If the Church of Rome were totally erroneous and antichristian, every approach towards it, all conformity and community with it, even in externals and things in their own nature indifferent, was to be regarded as odious and sinful; and it became a duty to bear an unceasing testimony against it, to wage with it a war of extermination. Thus the scruples of the Puritans respecting ceremonies and vestments, the cross and the surplice, would become consistent and respectable, and even their intolerance might appear justified; and though the Anglican Church should see fit, as matter of expediency, to retain her own episcopacy, it would become her to stretch out the right hand of fellowship to all the reformed churches without distinction, and to aid them by every possible exertion in making head against the common enemy, the great popish confederacy of Europe. On the other hand, if the Church of Rome, although erroneous and corrupt in certain points, were still to be regarded as a true and mother church, it would follow that in all matters, either indifferent or undetermined, her example was to be respectfully consulted, nor was even her authority without special cause to be rejected. The decisions of her canonists and the decrees of her councils must still be held in force; even her traditions were entitled to regard; and as the question was no longer between the kingdom of Christ and that of Antichrist, but between a venerable though erring parent, and a daughter still affectionate though no longer implicitly obedient, schemes of mutual conciliation might be innocently, nay, meritoriously, attempted, and might even yet succeed in producing an entire re-union, and closing up for ever the long and lamentable schism of the British isles."

It is not, therefore, surprising, that with so avowed a deference for the Romish Church, Laud should in those days have passed both with Catholics and Puritans for a concealed Papist; yet it is



certain, that he not only differed from that Church, in some points both of doctrine and discipline, but that he wrote one of the ablest refutations of her errors which has ever yet proceeded from the pen of a Protestant divine. The Reply to the Jesuit Fisher is still esteemed a very satisfactory exposition of the reformed tenets, and a powerful defence of the grounds on which they are maintained. But, nevertheless, the Archbishop of Canterbury was denounced as a Romanist, and Charles, who approved his principles and commended his zeal, was implicated in the charge of disaffection to the pure truths of the Gospel. The alliance between a church tending, as it was ignorantly imagined, to popery, and a king tending, as it was suspected, to arbitrary power, cast upon both a double weight of odium. In a word, the sovereign and the ecclesiastical estate were accused of conspiring against the liberty of the people; and it is asserted, that the former laboured with extreme assiduity to secure the hierarchy as his ally in his attempt to render himself independent of Parliament.

At all events it will be found that the demagogues in the lower House had the ingenuity to connect the royal cause with the unpopular notions of Popery and Arminianism. For instance, when Charles urged the Commons to pass a bill for granting tonnage and poundage, they instructed their committee to give the preference to an inquiry into the state of religion. Mr. Pym accordingly proceeded to offer to the consideration of the House, first, the impunity and encouragement shown to Papists, and the violation of law by the introduction of superstitious ceremonies into the Church; and, secondly, the doctrines taught by the Arminians, as inconsistent with the Articles sanctioned at Dort. He undertook to show wherein these late opinions were contrary to those settled truths, and what men have since been preferred who have professed such heresies. He drew their attention also to the pardons recently granted to some accused of writing false doctrines, and to the presumption of others who had dared to preach "the contrary to truth" before his majesty. He reminded them that it was the duty of Parliament to establish true religion, and to punish false—that parliaments have confirmed general councils—and that as for the Convocation, it was but the provincial synod of Canterbury, and could not bind the whole kingdom.

After this another member pronounced a tirade against a royal declaration, of which Laud was supposed to be the author, which asserted the right of the bishops and clergy regularly convoked, to decree all matters of outward regulation in the Church, and determine concerning the interpretation of the Articles. The House, to testify its hostility to the new doctrine, as it was called, now

entered into a solemn vow, declaring its "adherence to the sense of the articles of religion settled in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth, delivered to them by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and concurrent expositions of the writers of the Church." They embraced the same opportunity of expressing their abhorrence of the meaning assigned to that standard of their faith by Jesuits, Arminians, and all others who questioned the Calvinistic exposition. They concluded by resolving to petition the king to appoint a day of fasting on account of the distressed state of the Protestant churches abroad; thereby at once insinuating their displeasure at his supposed apathy in the cause of evangelical truth, and conveying to the people an indirect assurance that the Parliament alone took an interest in the success of pure religion among foreigners as well as at home.

It is remarkable that Charles was censured by the popular party in England, for pursuing, in regard to the Church, the very line of policy which was dictated to him by the Scottish covenanters. The latter claimed the right of regulating all matters of doctrine, discipline, and worship in their periodical assemblies, whether general or provincial, without any dependence upon the civil power, or indeed any other reference to it than such as was implied in a legal sanction of their proceedings. The interference of the state in their ecclesiastical arrangements was one of the evils against which the Presbyters of the north lifted up their voices with the greatest vehemence; and yet we find that the relinquishment of this offensive portion of the prerogative was condemned by the puritanical parliament as a violation of law! Pym asserted that it was the duty of the legislature to establish true religion, and to punish false—the very position, it is true, with which the Scottish reformers commenced their attack on the papal hierarchy, but which they soon discovered to be the most fruitful source of animosity and vexation. When they conferred the power now mentioned on the executive government, the phrase "true religion" had but one acceptation in their minds; being restricted to the particular form of words and discipline which pleased them at a certain stage of their innovations. Afterwards, when the king and council showed some disposition to assist with their advice in determining the ultimate model of the ecclesiastical constitution, they not only retracted their original concession, and demanded for their body an entire relief from the restraints of civil jurisdiction, but even claimed, in all spiritual concerns, an undisputed superiority both to Crown and Parliament.

So malignant, indeed, was the fortune of Charles, that it had become utterly impossible for him to give satisfaction to more than a part of his subjects. His duty to one class was regarded

by another as an attack on their privileges. Wisdom in one portion of his dominions was denounced as folly in a contiguous province; and even at the last, when he was solicited by the House and the Army respectively to listen to terms of accommodation, he had only the choice of placing himself at the head of the Parliament against the military faction, or to put his trust in those ambitious soldiers who had resolved to overthrow the tyranny of bigots and lawyers. He saw clearly that he could not gain both, and to take side with either would only have had the effect of perpetuating the civil war, under a change of colours, at the expense of a great sacrifice of principle and honour. So it was with respect to religion in those evil days. Persecution of Roman Catholics was popular in England, and rendered in some degree obligatory on the king: in Ireland, where a great majority adhered to the ancient faith, the execution of penal laws would have manifested an equal want of humanity and of understanding. The Churchmen here, the Presbyterians in Scotland, the Independents in the army, and the Puritans everywhere, were urgent for the adoption of their respective systems; while, in fact, they agreed in nothing but in their abuse or suspicion of one another.

No one who has read the history of England during the seventeenth century can fail to recollect many instances of the illiberal spirit which prevailed among Christians of all denominations. The Irish, who were generally loyal, and sought little more than the free exercise of their religion, had solicited from the king certain concessions, denominated *graces*, as the price of those supplies in men and money, which they were aware had become indispensable to their sovereign. By the conditions required, that unhappy people were to be relieved from various oppressions, civil, judicial, and commercial. The object of one stipulation was to restrict to a period of sixty years past, all inquiries on the part of the crown into defective titles to land; by another, Catholic landowners were to be admitted to sue out their liveries, without taking the oath of abjuration; and by a third, the rites of the Roman worship were to be admitted to a free toleration. The last article instantly roused the fears and the zeal of the Protestant hierarchy; and twelve Irish bishops, with Usher, their learned primate, at their head, signed a protestation, that the religion of the Papists being "superstitious and idolatrous, their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical, their church in respect of both apostatical," to grant them toleration was a grievous sin, and to do so for money was to set religion to sale.

On this occasion, as on too many others of a similar nature, Charles was beset with difficulties which he could not overcome without having recourse to that ambiguous policy which has left

on his name the stain of double-dealing. He was obliged to substitute for the toleration promised to the Catholics a bare connivance at their worship; and, being uncertain whether he could carry his measures through the Parliament, which he had engaged to summon, he availed himself of an irregularity in the writ issued by the lord-deputy, and permitted the season to pass by.

But neither moderation nor prudence could save him from the imputations of the Commons, who had determined to bring his motives into bad odour with the people at large. No sooner did the House assemble, after a temporary adjournment, than Sir John Eliot pronounced a speech containing the following passages :

“ The misfortunes we suffer are many : Arminianism undermines us ; Popery comes in upon us. They mask not in strange disguises, but expose themselves to the view of the world. In the search of these we have fixed our eyes, not on the actors, the jesuits and priests, but upon their masters—those who are in authority. You have some prelates who are their abettors : the great Bishop of Winchester—we know what he hath done to favour them. This fear extends to some others : the lord treasurer, in whose person all evil is contracted, both for the innovation of our religion and the invasion of our liberties—he is a great enemy of the commonwealth ; I have traced him in all his actions : and from this fear they go about to break parliaments—lest parliaments should break them. I find him the head of all that party—the Papists ; and all the jesuits and priests derive from him their shelter and protection.”

Nor was the king the only member of the royal family whose character was aspersed on account of religion. Henrietta, too, was an object of unmitigated rancour to the Puritans, whose hostility against her increased in proportion to the influence which she was supposed to possess in the councils of her husband. For example, Bernard, a lecturer in London, publicly prayed to the Lord to “ open the queen’s majesty’s eyes that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry.” This slanderer was pardoned on making a suitable submission. Leighton, however, refused to express any such acknowledgment, although he had in his “ *Zion’s Plea against Prelacy*,” stigmatized her as an *idolatress*, a *Canaanitess*, and a *daughter of Heth*. The severe punishment inflicted on the seditious railing of this author created at once a strong sympathy in his favour, and a violent reaction against the government. Prynne, in his turn, renewed the attack on the same illustrious female ; applying the most offensive terms to certain innocent amusements introduced at court, and reflecting on her character in language which would not be tolerated in the humblest society. In this case, too, as no redress could be found at common law, a state prosecution exposed the crown to further obloquy, and added one more to the number of popular martyrs.

It is deserving of remark, that the persecution directed against Henrietta ceased not with her own times. Miss Aikin, influenced by that singular spirit which makes women judge unfavourably of one another in all cases of imputed libertinism, has given a place in her pages to a silly and most improbable story lately published on the authority of a former Lord Dartmouth. "Before the civil war," his lordship is made to say, "the queen had a very particular aversion to Duke Hamilton, which he perceiving, prevailed with Mrs. Seymour, who attended upon her in her bed-chamber, to let him into the queen's private apartment at Somerset House, when he surprised the queen in great familiarities with Henry Jermyn, after which she durst never refuse the duke any thing he desired of her." The authority for this anecdote is as follows: Lord Dartmouth had it from Sir Francis Compton, who had it from his mother, who had it from Mrs. Seymour, who was drowned "in shooting London Bridge." The reader will naturally ask what credit was due to Mrs. Seymour, who, according to this precious morsel of court scandal, connived at the unlawful visit of Henry Jermyn, and then let in the Duke of Hamilton to witness the frailty or folly of her royal mistress! If testimony be admitted to derive any weight from the character of the witness, this little narrative will be found very deficient in its claims to our belief; for, assuredly, few females could be selected, even from the neighbourhood of Wapping, whose evidence would be found to labour under greater or juster suspicion. Our lady author, notwithstanding these grounds of mistrust, pronounces Henrietta guilty, and describes Harry Jermyn as the queen's "favoured lover!"

The king is further blamed for issuing the Royal Instructions, though the object was unquestionably to enforce discipline and promote the true interests of religion. The prelates were enjoined constant residence and unremitting vigilance; catechising was substituted for afternoon sermons; lecturers were subjected to such regulations as might prevent them from thwarting the stated incumbents; the governors of the Church being required to use all means in order to learn what was said by preachers and lecturers in their discourses, that they might adopt measures for correcting abuses, whether in doctrine or worship. The practice of engaging, as private chaplains, clergymen holding parochial cures, had become general, and was attended with many disadvantages. It was therefore ruled, that none under the rank of noblemen, except such other persons as were qualified by law, should entertain domestic chaplains in their houses, and thereby prevent them from performing divine service in church. No man was debarred from having within his walls

an individual in holy orders to direct his devotions: the restriction applied solely to the privilege, perhaps not very wisely extended even to the highest ranks, of retaining domestic ministers, who might, at the same time, derive emolument from charges which they did not actually fill. Such a manifestation of zeal for order and efficiency, however, instead of receiving the applause which it deserves, is seized by Miss Aikin, as a fit opportunity for declaiming against the future primate, and lamenting the impediment thrown in the way of "domestic worship," by one of the first clergymen in the land.

There is also an observation relative to Laud which we know not whether to ascribe to ignorance or malice. In a discussion at Oxford on certain doctrinal points, this churchman is said to have dropped, in the presence of the king, some expressions in disparagement of the married clergy; suggesting that, in the disposal of benefices, other things being equal, his majesty ought to give the preference to such as lived in celibacy. As applicable to the habits and discipline of a University, there can be no doubt that the principle of selection recommended by the bishop was worthy of consideration. But it is, at once, denounced as a daring approach to Rome! Then, with equal wisdom and candour, it is subjoined, that he saw the expediency of a retraction, which he made indirectly, by negotiating a marriage between one of his own chaplains and a daughter of Windebank, clerk of the signet. He himself likewise performed for them in the chapel of London House, the nuptial ceremony, with all other ecclesiastical rites which belonged to the solemnization of matrimony by the rules of the English Church. These rites, every one knows, implied the administration of the holy communion, which, as is mentioned in a rubric annexed to the office at the present day, "it is convenient that the new married persons should receive at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage." But Miss Aikin, being still in happy ignorance of all such usages, makes no scruple to condemn the whole as "flat popery." Ecclesiastical rites, belonging to the celebration of matrimony! Remarkable expressions! she exclaims, "which seem to imply "an administration of the sacrament, preceded, *possibly*, as "among the Catholics, by auricular confession, known to be one "of the practices of what he regarded as the primitive Church, "which this prelate laboured to restore."

We have already alluded to the failure of the king's views in regard to the Scottish Church. He found Episcopacy the established form of religion; and he was very naturally desirous to support an institution which he believed not only to be divine, but also much better fitted to coalesce with a monarchical govern-

ment, than the democracy that lurked under the disguise of Presbyterianism. A feeling of national pride, rather than any peculiar notions as to doctrine, induced the prelates of the north to recommend the compilation of a Book of Common Prayer, which might bear the name of their country, and to resume the communion service that had been used in the days of Edward the Sixth. It seems, however, that the authors of this undertaking did not take sufficient pains to carry with them the concurrence of the great body of the clergy, nor to prepare the people for its reception; for, upon due investigation, it will appear that the hostility shown to the celebrated Liturgy, tendered by Charles the First to his Scottish subjects, arose not so much from their aversion to preconceived forms of prayer, as from the supposed influence of Laud and other Arminian divines in the cabinet of their sovereign.

As a proof of what has now been stated, we may remind the reader that a printed form of public prayer was used in the Cathedral Church of Edinburgh, down to the period at which the new Liturgy was introduced. The very morning of the day on which Jenny Geddes immortalized her name, as the leader of the heroines who defeated the project of the English primate and blasted the hopes of the king, prayers were *read* by the reverend Patrick Henderson. At the end of the service he addressed his audience in these words: "Adieu, good people, for this I think is the last time of my reading prayers in this place," which caused a great murmuring in the congregation. In truth, no small exertions had been made to excite the enmity of the multitude against the new Book and the canons. The rabble, too, there is every reason to believe, acted under the direction of cooler heads than their own, and accomplished by their violence an object which gratified the revenge or the cupidity of a large class of men, who found it not convenient to appear in opposition to their sovereign. It is customary among certain writers to account for the aversion of the Scots to their national liturgy, by alleging that they perceived a strong popish tendency in some parts of the ritual; but this apology will not be urged by any one who is capable of comparing that celebrated compilation with the Common Prayer of our own Church, from which it deviates only in a few verbal alterations. Laud was perfectly justified in asserting that the variations introduced were of little or no consequence; forming a distinction rather than a difference between the devotional systems of the two kingdoms.

The landowners of Scotland, ever since the spoliations of Knox, and the appropriation to lay hands of church demesnes and tithes, in the non-age of the first James, have steadily opposed

every advance towards the permanent re-establishment of episcopacy. The rejection of the Prayer Book and the Canons might possibly have been traced to the apprehension of losing acres of rich fields, and annual bushels of corn, formerly ravaged from the ecclesiastical estate. Charles sacrificed his popularity in the north as soon as he proposed restitution to the clergy. Nay, he was further induced to consent to an arrangement which has condemned the national church in that part of the kingdom to hopeless poverty. A commutation of tithes was effected on a principle which, while it contemplates the improvement of every other class in society, prevents all increase in the income of the ministers, except in so far as it may be effected by a temporary rise in the market price of corn. The *quantity* of grain in most parishes is fixed for ever.

By the regulation now alluded to, the owner of an estate had the right to demand that an estimate should be taken of the amount of its produce, calculated in quarters of corn; and the tenth part of this estimate, to be paid in kind or compounded for in money, was thenceforth to be chargeable on the property, as the maintenance due to the Church. The lands, thus valued, were to be for ever exempted from all other demands in name of tithe.

As agriculture in Scotland was then at the lowest ebb, the estimate of the yearly produce, even of the best land under cultivation, must have been calculated on a very depressed scale. The improved system of management since introduced has augmented the annual returns of the farmer tenfold at least; but the clergyman continues to be paid according to the tithe as it was estimated two hundred years ago, in an age at once rude, extremely unsettled, and ignorant of nearly all the arts which render human labour productive. Besides, immense tracts, which are now covered with luxuriant crops, being then in a state of nature, were not taken into the account at all; and accordingly, in many districts, more than half of the soil is tithe-free. Nor is the minister entitled to the full amount of the tithe, even on the low estimate at which it was taken. The portion which alone he can claim is measured out to him by a committee of the judges in the court of session, who, in this case, are empowered by law to determine the extent of every living where the tithes or *tiends*, as they are called, are not already appropriated. In this way Charles granted a boon to the owners of estates, the value of which, however, was soon forgotten during the tumult and disaffection of civil war.

We cannot follow the course of hostilities nor of Miss Aikin, during the latter years of the unfortunate king. Suffice it to observe, that the issue of battle and the opinions of this authoress are



generally against him. On all questions that admit of doubt, she leans to the unfavourable side—often, indeed, with the air of one who has formed a determination, and then sets out in quest of reasons to support it. His conduct in regard to the Petition of Right, the affair of Glamorgan, and the commission of O’Neale, is condemned in the gross, and evidently without a minute knowledge of the circumstances on which a correct historical judgment ought to rest. But she has no hard words for the faction who afterwards brought him to the scaffold. Bradshaw “is an able and accomplished lawyer, of courageous character and firm deportment;” and in the appointment of the court who were to try the king she maintains that care was taken by the council of officers who had seized the helm of the state, “to render it as much as possible a representation of the different ranks and classes of society concerned in the decision.” As a proof of this impartiality, she mentions the leading members of parliament of the independent party, the Lord-General Fairfax, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Major-General Skippon, Commissary-General Ireton, and all the colonels of the army—the very persons who had resolved to sacrifice him at the shrine of their ambition.

Most constitutional writers have condemned the murder of Charles, as being at once unnecessary and impolitic. His errors were forgotten in sympathy for his hard fate; and a path was thereby opened up for the restoration of the monarchy, in the person of his son, without, in the meanwhile, securing the authority of law, or providing suitable restraints on the royal prerogative. The vindictive close of this first revolution rendered another inevitable. Miss Aikin, however, sees no reason for questioning the expediency of bringing the sovereign to the block. “To pronounce any solid judgment, whether moral or political, respecting the sentence executed upon him, would require a discussion of the alternatives which offered themselves to the choice of the party leaders of the time, of the aspects of affairs in their eyes, of their motives and ulterior designs, foreign from the character of this work, and to which the writer feels herself in many ways unequal.”

But this modest feeling never incapacitates the learned authoress, except when she might be expected to cast her eyes on both sides, and regard matters with a little impartiality. In the royal interests, there were “aspects of affairs” which required consideration, and also “alternatives which offered themselves to the choice of the leaders;” and hence a similar difficulty in pronouncing a judgment, whether moral or political, on their proceedings. Here, however, she experiences no hesitation; condemning with

that facility which those persons exclusively enjoy who, in conducting an argument, listen only to one set of reasons.

In respect, again, to the authenticity of the *Icon Basilike*, a point which has employed the research and exercised the talents of more than one ingenious person, "she has no hesitation in stating her entire conviction that Dr. Gauden was, as he affirmed himself to be, the real author of that book." We also have examined into the facts and probabilities of this case not less attentively than Miss Aikin, and the result is far from being an "entire conviction" either way. That the book contains allusions to plans and occurrences of which Dr. Gauden could know nothing, and which allusions were not fully understood until some years after the "*Icon*" was printed, is not denied by any one; whence arises a strong presumption that the learned divine could not be sole author of the said miscellany. Gauden was not in the confidence of Charles—never, indeed, was in his presence, except on the very ordinary occasion of preaching a sermon at the chapel-royal, and could not therefore become acquainted with his solitary thoughts. But sufficient evidence has been produced to prove that amid the casualties which befel the manuscript in the various attempts to have it secretly put to press, it passed for a time into the hands of the doctor. Besides, there is but too little reason to doubt that Gauden was not incapable of claiming, for the labours of a corrector, the reward, which he thought due to the writer of a production so seasonable, and which was known to be attended with effects very favourable to the interests of royalty.

The reader will not be displeased to peruse the following extract, supplementary to the narrative given by Phelpes, as abridged in the *Historical Sketches*. The parliament had issued orders that Nye, Marshall, Caryl, Salway, and Dell should attend the king, after sentence was passed, to administer to him such spiritual helps as might be deemed suitable to his condition. But his majesty, well knowing what comforters they were likely to prove, resolved to have no conference with them.

The morning of the 30th of January, before the king was brought from St. James's.

The Bishop of London (who with much ado was permitted to wait upon him a day before, and to assist him in that sad instant) read divine service in his presence, in which the 27th of St. Matthew—the history of our Saviour's crucifixion—proved the second lesson. The king, supposing it to have been selected on purpose, thanked him afterwards for his seasonable choice; but the bishop, modestly declining that undue thanks, told him that it was the lesson appointed for that day. He also then and there received of the bishop the holy sacrament, and performed all his devotions in preparation to his passion. Which ended, about ten of the clock his majesty was brought from St. James's to Whitehall by a

regiment of foot, with colours flying and drums beating, part marching before and part behind, with a private guard of partisans about him, the bishop on the one hand, and Colonel Tomlinson, who had the charge of him, on the other; his majesty, walking very fast, and bidding them to go faster, added that he now went before them to strive for a heavenly crown, with less solicitude than he had often encouraged his soldiers to fight for an earthly diadem.

“Being come to the end of the park, he went up the stairs leading to the long gallery in Whitehall, and so into the cabinet chamber, where he used formerly to lodge. There finding an unexpected delay in being brought upon the scaffold, which they had not yet fitted, he passed the time, at convenient distances, in prayer. About twelve of the clock, his majesty refusing to dine, only ate a bit of bread and drank a glass of claret; and about an hour after, Colonel Hacker, with other officers and soldiers, brought him, with the bishop and Colonel Tomlinson, through the banqueting house to the scaffold, to which the passage was made through a window. Diverse companies of foot and troops of horse were placed on each side of the street, which hindered the approach of the very numerous spectators, and the king from speaking what he had premeditated and prepared for them to hear. Whereupon his majesty, finding himself disappointed, omitted much of his intended matter; and, for what he meant to speak, directed himself chiefly to Colonel Tomlinson.”

He maintained that he did not begin the war upon the two Houses of Parliament, but that they began it upon him; and, for proof of this, he referred to the date of the commissions issued by the popular party, and likewise to their declarations, which, he insisted, left no doubt that they gave a commencement to the unhappy troubles. Far from representing himself as altogether free from guilt, he acknowledged that he deserved the afflictions sent upon him by Divine Providence, “which many times does pay justice by an unjust sentence.” And, he adds, “I will only say that an unjust sentence, that I suffered to take effect, is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me.” The allusion here was to the Earl of Strafford.

Bishop Juxon reminded him that, though his majesty’s attachment to the Protestant religion was well known, yet it might be expected he should say something for the satisfaction of the world. The king replied I thank you heartily for that, my lord, I had almost forgotten it. He then added; “in truth, sirs, my conscience in religion I think is very well known to all the world; and therefore I declare before you all that I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left by my father: and this honest man, pointing to the bishop, I think, will witness it.”

He told the executioner that he should say but very short prayers; and subjoined, “when I hold out my hands.” After adjusting his hair, and putting it under a cap, he took off his

cloak, and the insignia of the order of St. George, he delivered the latter to the bishop, saying *Remember!* Then putting off his doublet, and being in his waistcoat, he put on his cloak again, and, looking upon the block, said to the executioner, "You must set it fast."

"*Executioner.*—'It is fast, sir.'

"*King.*—'It might have been a little higher.'

"*Executioner.*—'It can be no higher, sir.'

"*King.*—'When I put my hands this way, then.' "——

Then having said a few words to himself, as he stood with hands and eyes lifted up, immediately stooping down, he laid his head on the block, and the executioner again putting his hair under his cap, his majesty, thinking that he was going to strike, bade him "Stay for the sign." The other replied, "Yes, I will and it please your majesty." After a very short pause, the king stretching forth his hands, the executioner severed his head from his body.

His blood was taken up by diverse persons for different ends; by some as trophies of their villainy, by others as relics of a martyr. Being embalmed and laid in a coffin of lead, to be seen for some days by the people, it was at length, on Wednesday the 7th February, delivered to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner, who, with some others, attended the hearse that night to Windsor, and placed it in the room that was formerly the king's bed chamber. Next day it was removed into the dean's hall, which was hung with black and made dark, and lights were set burning round the hearse. About three in the afternoon, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and the Bishop of London, arrived to superintend the burial of the king. The governor, Colonel Whichcot, refused to allow the funeral service to be read, or the body to be deposited in St. George's Chapel. The lords, by means of a little management, found access to the vault of Henry VIII., where they finally lodged the corpse of their ill-fated sovereign. The hearse was borne by the officers of the garrison, the four lords supporting the pall, and the Bishop of London following; and in this manner was the son of James the First, on Friday, the 9th February, silently, and without other solemnity than of sighs and tears, committed to the earth, the velvet pall being thrown into the vault over the coffin, to which was affixed in lead the following inscription.

KING CHARLES, 1648.

As we love candour in an author and mercy in a woman, we do not admire the spirit of these volumes. There prevails through-

out a sullen, uncharitable temper, frowning on the royal cause, exaggerating what is bad, and concealing nearly all that is good, in the history and character of the unfortunate prince. The reader too will bewail the almost entire want of authorities in these "*Memoirs of the Court of Charles the First.*" Most of the statements are, indeed, perfectly familiar, and require no warrant from secret records or newly-discovered documents; but there are, at the same time, certain portions of the narrative which would appear less incredible were they better vouched.

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ART. IV.—*A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* By the Rev. Robert Anderson. Perpetual Curate of Trinity Chapel, Brighton. London. Hatchard. 1833.

IT is almost enough to weigh down the spirit of a man, first to think of the monumental loads of controversy which have been raised, upon the ground of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and, then, to reflect that a great portion of all this weariness and toil might, probably, have been spared, if all expositors had steadily kept in mind the *main* object which, throughout, was manifestly in the thoughts of the Apostle himself. Which object we apprehend to have been, to satisfy both Jew and Greek, that that there was no sort of necessity for the Gentiles to pass through the avenue of Judaism, to the spiritual Canaan of the Gospel. To us, at the present day, this truth is so obvious, that it requires some considerable effort to imagine the state of mind which could ever have raised a difficulty upon the subject. It is, nevertheless, unfortunately notorious that, in the days of St. Paul, the question *was* actually one of tremendous difficulty: of such difficulty that the Apostles themselves found it no easy matter to come to an agreement upon it. To tell a Jew that the rest of the world were entitled to come into covenant with God, on equal terms with the chosen people; that circumcision profited nothing nor uncircumcision; and that a change, which should be equivalent to a new moral creation, was the one, and the only thing needful for all;—to tell a Jew this, was almost like telling him that the order of nature was to be confounded. For, in his judgment, the order of nature was not more immutable, than all the counsels of God with regard to the sons of Abraham according to the flesh. To declare that the mercies of God should be extended to the uncircumcised, was like taking the children's bread and casting it to the dogs. We really have considerable doubts whether the care which is now lavished by some idolatrous

people upon sacred bulls, and apes, and monkeys, is much more revolting to our apprehensions, than the honour bestowed upon the Gentiles by the Gospel Dispensation was to the feelings of many an inveterate and pharisaic Israelite. The cases, indeed, are not altogether parallel. But they are so far parallel as this, —that, in the estimation of any *very bigoted* Jew, the Gentiles were, in worth and dignity, but little better than the brutes that perish. He had no more notion of a comprehensive and *catholic* scheme of mercy, than a fanatical Musselman, at the present day, has any notion that an uncircumcised Christian *dog* shall enter into the paradise of the prophet. To imagine and to maintain such a scheme, was a species of *liberalism*, which amounted, in his opinion, to positive impiety. Even those of the privileged and chosen race, who had yielded to every other change implied in the Christian œconomy, found *this* change almost too much for their belief. And hence it was, that even the Church at Rome, whose faith was illustrious throughout the earth, was nevertheless torn to pieces by a bitter controversy relative to this very matter. The Gentile converts claimed a full equality of privileges with the Hebrew Christians. And this claim the Hebrew Christians resisted, as wholly inadmissible on any other terms, than those of a compliance with certain requisitions of the Mosaic system, and, more especially, with that of circumcision. And hence, too, it was that a most elaborate process of argument and exposition became needful for the purpose of composing this unseemly and afflicting strife. And such a process we actually have before us in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

In making this statement, nothing, of course, is further from our thoughts, than to disparage the importance of this grand and sacred monument of apostolic teaching. For, although the point more immediately at issue, is of *comparatively* little moment to the Church of Christ, at the present time, the discussion would, unavoidably, involve many matters of vital interest to the supremacy of the Gospel. We, nevertheless, confidently maintain that the argument can never be fitly understood, without a perpetual reference to the controversy which gave it birth; or without a resolute and steady recollection of the grand position which the Apostle had to establish; namely, that the Gentiles might become Christians, without first becoming Jewish proselytes; and that, when they were Christians, the ordinances and usages of Judaism must be cast away. And we repeat that, if this point had been steadily kept in view by all who have undertaken the exposition of this epistle, it would probably have done for them the office of a pole star; or rather, the office of

the magnetic needle; and would have kept them clear of much bewildering and devious navigation. And we cordially hope that all who, in future, may launch upon this ocean of inquiry, will consent to take this luminary for their guide.

We are happy to find that the views of Mr. Anderson seem to be essentially in harmony with our own. In his exposition of the 9th chapter, for instance, he very justly observes, that the question there discussed, relative to predestination and election, is totally different from that which has been debated by Christians since the time of St. Augustine.

"The modern controversy," he says, "has not any resemblance whatever to the Jewish notions, and cannot be applied to them. For, in the first place, the Jews extended the promises of God to the whole nation, to every Jew as a descendant of Abraham; and in the next place, they restricted those promises to their nation only. Now it is these two errors which the Apostle here confutes; showing, on the one hand, that God's promises were only made to the faithful descendants of Abraham; and, on the other hand, that God is equally the God of the Jews and the Gentiles. The first covenant was broken by their *common* father Adam; and the promises of forgiveness are made to all believers, whether among Jews or Gentiles, through the *common* Mediator, the Head of the New Covenant, Christ Jesus."

With regard to this statement, it is to be remarked, that the error of the Jew lay not so much in the belief, that the promises of God extended to every descendant of Abraham; for this, in a certain sense, was true. The covenant *was* made with the whole nation *collectively*; so that it was scarcely possible, at any time, to say, of any given portion of the people, that *they* were formally excluded from its benefits. The grand mistake of the Jew was this:—He believed, (and he was, generally, taught so to believe,) that the promises of God could not fail in any one individual instance; in other words, that no *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, be his personal failings what they might, could ever fall finally away from the favour of God. Whereas, the truth, as dictated by common sense and common equity, is manifestly this,—that the promises of God, as involved in the covenant, must necessarily fail of their accomplishment, towards all who shall have failed to perform *their part*. So that, ultimately and eventually, the result will be the same, as if the *faithful* and the *faithful only*, had been originally interested in the covenant: except, indeed, that the unfaithful will be liable to deeper condemnation than if the covenant and the promises had never been.

Again, Mr. Anderson's exposition of the 8th chapter is, in like manner, untainted with the spirit of the predestinarian dispute. It is, indeed, very animated and spirit-stirring. It is,

evidently, the product of a mind *saturated* with the most blessed influences of Christianity; of a heart on which the love of God and man appears to have been shed abroad by the Holy Ghost. But the zeal which pervades is of no polemic temper. As to doctrinal statement, if there is any one point on which we are disposed to differ from him, it is this; that he seems, (if we may judge from a passage produced by him from Archbishop Leighton), to consider the finally effectual calling of Christians, as the only calling which St. Paul had in contemplation in the celebrated passage of this chapter (*viz.* v. 28—30.) Every one, of course, is aware that this point has engendered abundance of doubtful disputation. And yet, to us, we confess, it does seem clear enough, that the Apostle is not, at least in this place, thinking of any distinction between the finally *effective*, and finally *ineffective* call. He is not speaking of the ultimate destiny of one class of Christians, as compared with that of another class of Christians. He is speaking, generally, of the design and purpose with which *all* Christians are called of God,—namely, that they may be conformed to the image of His Son. That the calling will *eventually* turn out to be effectual in some cases, and ineffectual in others, is, of course, indisputable. But the contrast between such cases respectively, was not then in the Apostle's mind. The only contrast in his thoughts was, between the condition of those who professed the Gospel, in obedience to the call, and those who did not. And with reference to the former, he speaks (as the Apostles very frequently speak) of Christianity as it would be, if it had its perfect work; and of Christians as *they* would be, if they were all faithful and true to the gracious purposes for which the Gospel was sent. God, of course, foreknew every individual, whether Jew or Gentile, who was to embrace and make profession of the Gospel. And his object was that all such persons should be conformed to the image of Christ. This was the purpose to which they were predestinated, or pre-ordained. And this purpose could not be accomplished, unless they were first called or invited. And with those who were so called, the pre-ordained process was, that they should first be justified by faith in his son, and then, through a course of sanctification, advanced to glory. Of this number, many, it is true, would fail to make their calling and election finally sure. But the fate of such persons does not here seem to enter into the contemplation of the Apostle.

Conformable to this view, is the language of the Apostle in c. ix. 23, 24, where he speaks of God, as “making known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory; *even us, whom he hath called*, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles.” Nothing can be more



general than this language. It manifestly points, not to any peculiar portion of the Christian body, selected from the rest, as vessels of mercy; but to the whole assembly of Jews and Greeks who should be separated from the rest of the world, by their profession of that Gospel, which placed the attainment of glory within their reach. And, accordingly, it is said, in 2 Tim. i. 8, 9, that God "hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works," (and, therefore not according to the notions entertained by the Jews,) "but according to his purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus, before the world began:" which "purpose and grace," had no exclusive reference either to Jew or Gentile.

All those, in short, who openly profess the religion of Christ, are said, in the idiom of Scripture, to be predestined unto glory, because they have been brought, by the providential and determinate counsel of God, into the way which leadeth unto glory: just as men are often said to be *saved*, when they are put in possession of the appointed, or predestined, means of salvation. How far their perseverance in that way may be connected with the Divine Decrees, is a matter respecting which, as we contend, nothing has been revealed to us. And if so, it becomes us to lay our hand upon our lips, instead of rushing in, and striving to unroll the volume of God's secret counsels. And such, in effect, we presume, is the persuasion of Mr. Anderson. We collect as much from the general tenor of his meditations; which are as abhorrent as possible from the hard and austere aspect of the predestinarian theology, and tend to the suppression of every uncharitable thought, or contentious feeling.

Having lighted on the eighth chapter, we cannot forbear to express our delight at the manner in which Mr. Anderson has treated two very interesting and solemn subjects,—namely, the witness of the Spirit;—and the groanings of the whole creation beneath the burden of sin. With regard to the former of these subjects, he cordially adopts the sound, vigorous, and wholesome exposition of Bishop Bull. He represents the witness of the Spirit, not as a solitary testimony; not as a voice like that which hath often spoken to the ear of Mysticism or Superstition; but as a joint testimony: a testimony in which our own spirits and consciences have their share.

"We must have," says Mr. Anderson, "both the inward and the outward sign of grace. The inward sign is a heart disposed in all things to obey God's blessed will. The outward signs are acts of cheerful obedience, conformable to that disposition. Both these signs must invariably concur. When we have the evidence of our own spirits that we do in-

deed love the Law of God; and when we have the evidence of the Holy Spirit working in us, by obedience: when we both love and obey the commands of God, and feel our hearts continually drawn towards Him as to a loving father; we cannot want any thing further to assure us that we are the children of God."

The passage respecting the Groans of Nature is understood by Mr. Anderson precisely as we understand it;—as it must, surely, be understood by all who have but tasted of the spirit of the holy oracles;—as it is understood by the author of the *Christian Year*, whose harp always sounds to us as if it had first been tuned in heaven by angelic hands, and had by them been consigned to a "chief musician" on earth, anxious only to prepare for joining in the celestial melodies hereafter. The whole style and manner of the Sacred writings directs us to the true interpretation of the Apostle's language. The Scriptures perpetually speak of things that are greatly needed, as if they were, likewise, vehemently desired: and further, they give both heart and voice to the whole creation, whether living or lifeless. The land is often said to mourn because of the iniquity and transgressions of the people. "The gates of Judah languish" in the day of calamity and rebuke. And again, in seasons of gladness, "the mountains and the hills break forth into singing, and the trees of the field clap their hands" for joy. In the same spirit it is, that the Messiah is called the "Desire of all Nations," for all nations stood in urgent need of the Messiah; though multitudes may have been personally unconscious of their own spiritual wants. And such is the style of the Apostolic language here. The whole creation labours and struggles in pain, under the curse entailed on sin. It cries out for very disquietness and bitterness, as if invoking the promised deliverance,—as if anxious to share in the blessedness which awaits the children of God. The holy psalmist hears the voice of the firmament declaring the glory of the Lord. The Apostle, on the contrary, when pondering on the triumph of evil, seems to listen, in spirit, to the groans and cries of an agonizing world. And who is there, at this day, that can look upon the overflowings of ungodliness, and gaze upon "the dark and cruel places of the earth," without feeling something within him,

Which bids us see, in heaven and earth,  
In all things fair around,  
Strong yearnings for a blest new birth,  
With sinless glories crown'd?\*

We cannot refrain from subjoining the reflections of Mr. Anderson on the gracious offices of the Spirit in "helping our in-

\* Keble's *Christian Year*, 4th Sunday after Trinity.

frutities, and interceding for us with groanings that cannot be uttered."

"The Holy Spirit," he observes, "sometimes excites in the children of God such ardency of devotion, and such vehement compunction, that their hearts are too full for utterance. The prayer of the believer is often the unutterable groanings of a heart which deeply feels its misery, its poverty, and its impotence. But are these groanings concealed from God. No, says the Apostle, *He that searcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the Saints, according to the will of God.*" If it is the Holy Spirit who, Himself, prayeth within us, assuredly He who gave the Holy Spirit to his children, must know *what is the mind of the Spirit.* *He that searcheth the heart* knows, therefore, that the prayers of his children do not proceed from their own natural desires, but that they are conformable to His most holy and blessed will."

Our readers will immediately perceive how admirably these reflections harmonize with those of Professor Stuart, cited by us in our last Number,\* more especially with the following.

"The soul can (sometimes) only vent itself in sighs, the meaning of which language is too feeble to express. Often we do not know enough of the consequences or designs of present trials and sufferings, even to venture on making a definite request with regard to them; because we do not know whether relief for them is best or not. The humble Christian, who feels his need of chastisement, will very often be brought to such a state. Then, what a high and precious privilege it is, that our unutterable sighs should be heard and understood by Him who searcheth our hearts! Who can read this without emotion? Such are the blessings purchased for sinners by redeeming blood! Such the consolations which flows from the throne of God, for a groaning and dying world!"

It is quite impossible for us to follow Mr. Anderson throughout his exposition. We must confine ourselves, inevitably, to desultory notices. We, accordingly, take a retrograde movement to the fourth chapter; the twenty-fifth verse of which is understood by Mr. Anderson in the sense contended for by Bishop Horsley. It is with the profoundest diffidence that we venture to cast the slightest shade of doubt over any interpretation put forth by that giant of divinity. We nevertheless must honestly avow, that we have some misgivings respecting the soundness of his criticism in the present instance. The Bishop maintains, that, *as* our Lord's death was the consequence of our sins, *so* his resurrection was the consequence of our justification. The words of the Apostle are—*ὅς παρεδόθη ΔΙΑ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡγέρθη ΔΙΑ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.* And it would be absurd, says the Bishop, to suppose that the same word could be used, in the same sen-

\* Brit. Crit. for Oct. 1833, p. 442.

tence; in dissimilar and opposite significations. It can no more be said that our justification was accomplished by the resurrection of Christ, than that our sins are produced by his death. And he concludes the doctrine of the text to be, that our justification being completed by the death of Christ, his resurrection followed inevitably, and of course; since it cannot be imagined that he should be detained in the grave, after he had done and suffered all that was necessary for man's redemption.

It may, however, we think, be reasonably doubted, whether all this *symmetry* of style is to be looked for in the writings of St. Paul; or in any except the most laboured and polished compositions. It is true that, according to the usual and ordinary acceptance of this passage, the preposition, διὰ, will not have precisely the same meaning in both members of the sentence. In the former, it will denote the consequence of something that has gone before; in the latter, the requisite preliminary to something that was to follow. Thus—"because we have sinned, Christ died; because we *must be justified*, Christ rose again:"—or, "on account of our sins, Christ died; on account (or, for the sake) of our justification, Christ rose from the dead." But this double sense of the same word is by no means without example. An instance of nearly the same kind occurs in the Nicene Creed—τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ δι' ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν ὀρανῶν: for in fact, the sins of *us men* were the cause which brought Christ down from heaven, and our salvation was the consequence of his coming. And yet this different use of the preposition, διὰ, can scarcely be considered as a violation of grammatical, or even of rhetorical propriety. The sense of the passage of St. Paul may, therefore, we apprehend, still be that which has usually been assigned to it; namely, "the sins of men *required*, or made it necessary that Christ should die; their justification required that he should rise again:" in other words, the sufferings of Christ were requisite as an atonement to the Divine Justice for the offences of mankind; his resurrection was requisite to secure to them the benefit of that atonement; requisite, both as a manifestation of his divine character, authority, and power, and as a step towards his assumption of the office of a mediator at the right hand of God. Both were indispensable proceedings in the œconomy of man's redemption. And here we may remark, that the view taken of this matter by Chrysostom seems to be essentially conformable to our own; for he considers whatever was done for our sins, as likewise done for our justification. His words are—ὁρᾷ πῶς, πῇν ἀτίαν ἐπιὼν τῇ θανάτῳ, τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως ποιεῖται. —Hom. xiv. in Rom. ad loc.

We repeat, however, that we offer our dissent from the opinion

of Bishop Horsey with becoming hesitation. And, at all events, it is pleasing to observe that Mr. Anderson, instead of wasting much time or thought upon such critical niceties, is anxious only to derive from the text in question all the practical edification which it so richly supplies.

"Behold your Saviour," he says, "*delivered for your offences*, and pray that, with your hearts awakened to a full sense of the evil and the desert of sin, you may look habitually to the Lamb, without blemish and without spot, which taketh away the sins of the world."

And again—

"View him, secondly, as *raised again for your justification*. Contemplate the Lord Jesus Christ thus rising from the grave, and bringing back with him the pardon which he had sealed with his own blood. Contemplate him now, when, instead of executing wrath upon his enemies, he sends again the offer of peace and reconciliation to all, and takes upon himself to be their mediator and intercessor, as he had been their sacrifice. . . . The most incredulous of his enemies desired him only to come down from the cross, and they would believe him. But how much better reason had they to believe him, when he came, not from the cross, but from the prison of the grave! How unanswerable was the testimony of God's love to mankind, when his only-begotten and well-beloved Son thus came forth from the grave, to proclaim and to confirm, to all ages, the pardon which he had purchased for a guilty world!"

The seventh chapter is one which has furnished a most ample contingent to the service of controversy. It has been hotly questioned, for example, whether St. Paul, in the latter part of it, is speaking strictly in his own person, as already reclaimed from the bondage of sin, by the Gospel; or, whether he is merely describing the conflicts of a spirit sufficiently awakened to be sensible of its slavery, but as yet imperfectly enlightened as to the only means of escape from it. We very much suspect that St. Paul himself would be extremely astonished—and, perhaps, not a little vexed—if he could witness the piles of disquisition which have been wasted on this question. For ourselves, we can only say, that if we had never heard that a syllable of controversy had been vented on the subject, we doubt whether our own sagacity would have been sufficient to direct us to the difficulty. To our perceptions, nothing can well be more clear than the course of the Apostle's thoughts. He is endeavouring (if we comprehend him rightly) to point out the necessity of the deliverance wrought for us by the Gospel; and in order to accomplish this, he sets forth, in his own very peculiar and emphatic way, the struggles of a depraved but thoughtful mind under the unmitigated dominion of the law. And how does he finish the representation?—why, with precisely the exclamation that might be expected from one who

had been suffering under the conflict between a keen perception of the excellence of the law, and the violence of his own ill-governed propensities—*O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?*—that is, who shall rescue me from the deathlike disorder and corruption, which seems to cleave to the very clay of which I am compounded? And then, recollecting his own deliverance from this state, he bursts out into a strain of thanksgiving—*I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* All this, indeed, is spoken by the Apostle, throughout, as in his own person. But this is precisely in the style of St. Paul. Nay, it is precisely in the style of every ardent mind, when anxious to illustrate important truth in the most vivid and striking, and, at the same time, in the least offensive manner. Nothing more powerfully aids the freedom and the animation of a moral or religious teacher, than the appearance of merely representing his own case.

We have no room to examine the various objections which have been started to this view of the passage in question. There is one among them, however, which we cannot abstain from noticing. We are sometimes told that it cannot be said of any but a sincere and confirmed believer, that he delights in the Law of God, after the inward man. Now, in answer to this, we would remark, that a much more emphatic sense is frequently given by interpreters to the word *συνήδουμαι*, in the 22d verse, than necessarily belongs to it. It is usually supposed to imply a positive and cordial delight. St. Chrysostom, however, thought otherwise. He considers it as implying little more than acquiescence, or, at most, approbation. For his words are these—*τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν, συνήδουμαι;—ὁμολογῶ ὡς ἀλῶς ἔχειν τι.*—(Hom. ad loc.) And is this a feeling beyond the reach of any but a mature believer in the Gospel? Has there not been many a heathen capable of admiration—reluctant and despairing admiration, perhaps—of the most sublime models of virtue, purity, self-denial, and devotion? Is there not many a man, at this day, though but slightly touched, to all appearance, by the heart-searching influences of the Gospel, yet struck with powerful emotions of self-reproach by an exhibition of the beauty of holiness? None but the believer, indeed, can say, in the spirit of the holy psalmist, *Lord, what love have I unto thy law!* But the majesty of the law will often command the unwilling homage of many, who are habitually betrayed by their lusts into rebellion against its authority.

But then, it has been asked, does the believer know nothing of this fearful conflict? Is the law in his members so completely subdued that it ceases to war against the law of his mind? Unquestionably the believer *has* a warfare still to accomplish; for

the struggle which the Apostle describes is one which never wholly ceases in this life: so that the firmest believer may find the description here given by the Apostle, at least partially verified in his own moral history. But still the law in his members, though it may agitate and harass him, (and this, at times, almost *beyond measure and above strength*,) can hardly be said to *bring him into captivity to the law of sin*. From this captivity the faithful disciple of the cross hath been delivered, by the power of Christ that dwelleth in him. He is, therefore, no longer a prisoner striving to burst his chains, or making vain efforts against the walls of his dungeon. He is a combatant fighting the good fight under the banners of his Saviour, though frequently with fainting heart and feeble knees. This combat, indeed, is one which the Apostle often triumphantly describes. But it does not appear to us that he had it solely, or principally, in contemplation here.

In a word, then, it does appear to us, *first*, that St. Paul is here describing a struggle, which is, *more or less*, incident to human nature, in all the varieties and all the stages of its moral condition,—that of hardened depravity alone excepted. *Secondly*, that he had more particularly in view the moral strife, as it works in the heart of the yet unconverted man. But, *lastly*, that his description is, in some particulars, fearfully applicable to the case of the established Christian. But here it must be remembered, that the conflict which yet remaineth to the believer, is, in many instances, still more painful and appalling than the abortive efforts of the struggling captive. And it is so, precisely because the moral sensibilities of the confirmed Christian are infinitely more exalted than those of the man who feels much of the beauty and majesty of God's Holy Law, but is not yet fully acquainted with its inviolable sacredness. The commandment of God hath so purified the moral vision of the believer, that he is often well nigh shaken to pieces by the sense of sinfulness, which still haunts him like an apparition, and seems to stand in the way for an adversary against him. And hence, probably, it is that many a sensitive and anxious Christian has found, in this passage of St. Paul, nothing but a description of the *believer's* agonies and perplexities. And we have no doubt that it is this consideration which has inclined Mr. Anderson to the same line of exposition, as the only one which can bring the Christian to an adequate view of the toil and peril of his warfare. And truly, the error (if it be an error) would be of slight account, if all expositors had, like him, been content to use the words of the Apostle, only as excitements to watchfulness and perseverance.

“Put on,” he says, “the whole armour of God, and remember that it is never to be laid aside until others shall be called upon to put on your

shrouds. *Though the believer may not live in sin, still sin will live in the believer.* His strong sins, indeed, will every day become weaker and weaker, and his weak graces will grow stronger and stronger. But yet his weak graces will never be perfectly strengthened, nor will his strong sins ever be perfectly subdued, as long as he is in this life. Yea, that 'infection of nature which remaineth, even in the regenerate,' will lead him continually to adopt the language of the Apostle, and to say—*O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!*"

We must now take leave of Mr. Anderson, which we do with the conviction that we have been conversing with one, all whose faculties are intensely devoted to the holy work of the ministry. It is, perhaps, too much to expect, that this, or any exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, should meet with the unqualified and unanimous assent of the critical or theological world. Besides, a complete, profound, and searching discussion of every question which arises out of this portion of Scripture, is an undertaking which swells far over the embankments of any channel, which a pastoral expositor can trace out for himself. Of the work before us, however, we can honestly say, that,—whether it fully satisfies the spirit of criticism, or whether it does not,—it exemplifies in almost every page that holy earnestness, that ardent desire for the salvation of human souls, which is the crown and glory of all pastoral teaching and ministration.

ART. V.—*History of Arabia, Ancient and Modern : containing a Description of the Country—an Account of its Inhabitants, Antiquities, Political Condition, and Early Commerce—the Life and Religion of Mohammed—the Conquests, Arts, and Literature of the Saracens—the Caliphs of Damascus, Bagdad, Africa, and Spain—the Civil Government and Religious Ceremonies of the Modern Arabs—Origin and Suppression of the Wahabees—the Institutions, Character, Manners and Customs of the Bedouins ; and a Comprehensive View of its Natural History.* By Andrew Crichton. Being Part XIII. of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.

THE general question of the state and prospects of English literature appears to us a subject of far deeper and more pressing importance than it is usually considered. Our literary system, like every thing else about us, is undergoing a rapid change, and yet few persons trouble their heads about the matter; very few indeed know enough to understand it. Men see the surface smooth, and they think nothing of the troubles that are boiling underneath; they deem the aspects of the present favourable, and they



care nothing how the resources of the future may be anticipated and destroyed: they are full of chuckling congratulations about the prodigious spread of instruction for the multitude; but they never ask themselves how long the solid materials are likely to be supplied, out of which these popular vehicles of information are compiled and manufactured.

There are many evils connected with the new modes of composition and publication, of which the effects, we apprehend, will be more visible in a few years, than they are at this immediate moment. We just throw out the following objections as they occur to us, not for the sake of indulging our spleen, for we have really none to indulge; but for the sake of directing public attention to the inquiry, in the hope that some expedient may be devised, by which the good, which we are eager to acknowledge, may be still attained, but without the concomitant mischief, which may soon neutralize, if it does not overbalance it.

1. The present system of "Family Libraries," and "National Libraries," and "Cabinet Libraries," and all sorts of Libraries, and all sorts of Encyclopædias, is yet, in spite of its colossal pretensions, utterly destitute of true wisdom and comprehensiveness. It exhibits, after all, an incongruous mass without unity or harmonization. Treatises upon all conceivable subjects are thrown up, one after another, as if by the wheels of a lottery, or from "the yeast of waves," without any consecutive order, without any reference or application, each to each. And thus the knowledge acquired by the mind, instead of being combined, and dove-tailed into a well-adjusted or well-amalgamated whole, must consist merely of a number of salient points and jumbled impressions.

2. The present system is essentially a system of compilation and plagiarism. In *Macadamising* the road to science, men are perpetually employed in breaking up the stones which do not belong to them. Nine-tenths, at the least, of the cheap and hasty productions which are now put forth in haste, from the price of a halfpenny or a penny upwards, are got up at second-hand by second-rate or third-rate *operatives*, for the mere object of a quick and extensive sale. There is almost nothing absolutely new. But the handsome, though it may be somewhat cumbrous, furniture of our ancestors is taken to pieces, and modern chairs and tables are constructed out of it; and if the backs are gay and the face shining, who is to complain that the joints are weak and the legs rickety, and the whole just fit to deck out a lodging-house? Modern fabrics are to be run up without much of mortar or cement, out of the bricks of some olden edifice; and as the lease is but a short one, it matters nothing, provided only they can be made to serve their purpose and last their time.

3. The necessary consequence, or rather companion, of this state of things, is that our literature is becoming superficial in the same proportion as it has become multifarious; and loses in depth almost as much it gains in expansion. Alas, who will think of making for himself a  $\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha \xi\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ , or building up an enduring monument with the labours of a life; if the produce of the brain is to be pilfered without compunction, and, when properly lightened and rarified, fly abroad upon the wings of a penny or three half-penny, or twopenny magazine? The chaster graces of style must be sacrificed to coarse and palpable effects; and the polish and finish of composition must eventually vanish away, as it is transmitted from men of original minds to others, whose province is to work up and adapt to popular use the thoughts and discoveries of their masters. Just as we come to wood-cut engravings, we come also to a *wood-cut* literature.

Some of the foregoing observations have perhaps been overcharged, both in the drawing and the colouring. But we shall not retract them, because the very exaggeration may make our meaning more conspicuous. Our impression certainly is, that the interests of literature and knowledge will, in the long run, suffer materially and fatally, if all existing causes are to operate without counteraction; and unless some higher and more substantial encouragement shall be afforded to the production of profound and elaborate works; unless a man's right to his intellectual capital shall be secured to him; and therefore unless the laws relating to literary property shall be altered and amended. We write, however, with the sole aim of eliciting truth, and not with any view of making accusations. Few things, too, would grieve us more, than to be suspected of enmity to the progress of improvement and intelligence; when the first, and most earnest, and most deeply-rooted wish of our hearts is—the utmost possible communication of a sound, and systematic, and valuable instruction. We have our doubts, not about the *end*, but about the *means*; and we sometimes fear, that, while men are eager to snatch an immediate benefit, a positive and growing injury is overlooked. Our meaning will be evident; as, after saying a few words upon the *libraries* in general, we pass on to a critical examination of the volumes before us, which will have given the immediate occasion to these remarks, and will partly furnish their illustration.

Of larger and more imposing monopolies we may speak in another place, but we cannot help considering these libraries as an attempt at monopoly in a small way. We do not mean, when they are confined to some particular line of subjects, but when they aspire to be universal and indiscriminate. Their tendency is to merge individual authorship under the direction of two or three

editors or publishers, in somewhat the same way as individual authorship will perhaps be merged, or have to contend at an infinite disadvantage under the operation of the two societies for the promotion, the one of Christian, and the other of useful knowledge. And the worst is, that they have not any definite shape, like an alphabetical or methodized encyclopædia, but that they absolutely outrage all Aristotelian rules, and have neither beginning, nor middle, nor end. These libraries might stop to-morrow, or extend to as many volumes as Richard Heber's; and yet there would be no legitimate reason at one time more than at another, for either their stoppage or their extension. A "Library," or a "Cabinet Cyclopædia,"—or any other collection of volumes connected by that most magnificent of all links, the *same binding*—commences, we will suppose, with a life of "Napoleon," or "Byron;" and then, number two is a treatise upon some particular department of science, and number three is an account of certain voyages and travels, and number four is a *preliminary* dissertation upon science in general; and so on *ad infinitum*. Can any thing be more preposterous than this? and yet is not this picture, ridiculous as it seems, realized in a hundred instances at the present day? And with the exception of a few contributions, not in their best manner, from a few eminent authors, just to give the thing a start, are not the whole collections little better than bundles of piracy and trash? Why, a man would be ashamed of himself, if he did not marshal his books upon his own shelves in better sequence, and connection, and juxtaposition. We have only time to make one humble supplication to the intellectual caterers for that public taste, which they are doing much to vitiate;—to the literary despots who, like Mehemet Ali, would graciously take all imaginable matters under their especial and sovereign protection:—if we must have "*Libraries*" written for us, in the name of common sense let us have them more philosophically arranged.

The two volumes constituting the History of Arabia, ancient and modern, are by no means an unfavourable specimen of their class. An author—and this too is one of the inconveniences of the system—works with a clog about his heels, when he works at a *job* under the direction of another; and therefore we conceive Mr. Crichton capable of higher things, if left entirely to himself. But the work has been loudly praised; and not altogether beyond its merits. The subject is interesting, and the manner of handling it agreeable enough. Arabia is, in fact, a land which, while it invites the curiosity of every one, must for a Christian be invested with an almost indescribable attraction. The origin of the people, their habits, and their destiny—the localities of the country—its wildernesses of sand, and the seas and mountains

upon its border—have all a relation to those stupendous events and those wondrous prophecies which are interwoven with the very frame-work of our belief. In later ages, again, Arabia is well calculated to rivet our attention, as being the birth-place of that false prophet, and the great nursery of that potent fanaticism, which at one period, to a merely human vision, or to an understanding unenlightened and unsupported by the promises of Scripture, seemed likely utterly to overthrow the Gospel of Jesus of Nazareth, and exercise a sanguinary supremacy over the nations of the earth. And the truth is, that the principal object which directed us to these volumes, was a wish to see in what manner the vast subject of Mohammed and Mohammedanism had been treated. For a good view of the Arabian imposture, brought down to the present times, was and is still wanting; and certainly neither the strange work of Mr. Foster, nor the miserable fragment of an account which was published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, nor any other production which we have lately seen, can be deemed adequate to supply the deficiency.

We cannot compliment Mr. Crichton so far as to say, that he has entirely accomplished what we conceive to be desirable. His strong point seems to be a certain neatness of description, rather than any philosophical depth or grandeur of conception: and the latter portion of his labours appears somewhat hurried and abridged, probably because the space of two volumes was the limit assigned by his employers. He might also contend, and not without some justice, that a very enlarged survey of the present aspect of Mohammedanism, and the probable futurity which awaits it, would not fairly be comprised into a popular history of the ancient and modern Arabs.

We shall therefore look at Mr. Crichton's book as it is, instead of blaming him for not giving what he has not, perhaps, intended to give: at the same time he does profess much; he does make high pretensions: and we feel entitled and called upon to try him by the lofty standard which is taken in his own preface. He tells us at vol. i. page 7, with considerable grandiloquence—

“That the author has succeeded in verifying doubts or reconciling anachronisms, which perplexed the ablest Arabian antiquaries,—Pocock, Reiske, and De Sacy,—it would be presumption in him to assert. He has employed every means in his power, however, to discover the truth. For this purpose the Oriental writers,—Abulfeda, Tabiri, Masoudi, Hamza, Nuvairi, Abulfarage, and others who record the transactions of these remote ages,—have been carefully perused; nor have those inci-

dental notices and allusions been overlooked which occur in the pages of the Greek and Roman classics."—*Crichton*, p. 7.

He tells us, again, that the accounts of naturalists, and geographers, and travellers have been studied. "Of these sources of information the author has not neglected to avail himself, and while acknowledging his obligations to the distinguished travellers Niebuhr and Burckhardt, he ought also to state that he has not omitted to consult the more recent surveys of Chesney, Kent, and Owen.—p. 6. In another department of his work he has been enabled, from the valuable labours of Major Price, to rectify some errors, as well as to illustrate some points more fully than has been done by Ockley and Marigny, or even by the Arabian annalists Abulfeda or Elmacin."—pp. 8, 9.

Now from all these statements we have surely a right to expect, if not much perhaps of absolute originality, at least a good deal of individual and independent research: we have a right to expect that the materials, thus collected from a multitude of sources, would be worked up into a fresh tissue in their due harmony and proportion; that the rays thus pouring in from various quarters would be so concentrated as to throw a fresh flood of light over the whole of the Arabian peninsula: we have a right to expect, in short, that "The History of Arabia, Ancient and Modern," &c. &c. (vide the long catalogue of particulars in the title page almost worthy of George Robins), would have been at least *re-written*, after a careful digest and collation of all previous accounts.

But what is the fact? Mr. Crichton and our readers in general will bear in mind that *we do not* pretend to have examined the *whole* matter of the two volumes with the same elaborate diligence. Mr. Crichton would be indeed unfortunate if we passed sentence upon all the rest, judging with a dogmatic inflexibility by the part which we *have* elaborately examined. Of the rest then let us be understood as saying nothing: only, if the part selected *be* a fair sample of the whole, we should be sorry, ourselves, to have written Mr. Crichton's book with Mr. Crichton's preface. We took up these volumes, as we have already hinted, chiefly with a view of investigating what had been written about "The Life and Religion of Mohammed," which, according to Mr. Crichton—

"form a curious and important episode in Arabian history; as giving rise to one of the most wonderful revolutions that the world has ever beheld. In treating of these, it has been the object of the present writer to give a fair representation of both, without being swayed by any of those prejudices and apprehensions which have led some authors to speak of the character of that remarkable personage, and the institutions of which he was the founder, in a tone of such uncharitable rancour, as to bring into suspicion the veracity of their statements. While

shunning the bitter invectives of one class of biographers, he has avoided the panegyrical strain of others, who have endowed the Apostle of the Koran with all the miraculous qualities which Eastern credulity has gravely ascribed to him. Having no hypothesis to support, and considering it his province rather to narrate events than to speculate upon them, he has confined himself to a simple record of facts; leaving his readers in general to draw their own conclusions."—*Crichton*, pp. 7, 8.

Here we gravely ask, *what* is this record of facts which is ushered in with so much pomp, and "which is to be moderate and impartial, and to separate the good from the evil of preceding narratives, and to steer its own course between uncharitable rancour and credulous panegyric?" What shall we say, if the gallant vessel thus boldly launched upon the waters, as if her timbers were all fresh, turns out to be nothing more or less than an old seventy-four cut down into a frigate, with a little fresh copper, and fresh paint? It is remarkable that among the number of authorities quoted by Mr. Crichton in his account of Mohammed, the name of Gibbon is seldom mentioned, and scarcely ever without some expression of dissent from his opinions; and yet, as we read on, the very words struck us as familiar to our recollections. Great, however, was our astonishment, when in comparing the *Historian* of "Arabia ancient and modern," with the *Historian* of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," we found the biography of Mohammed, not *similar*, but essentially *the same*. We allow that there are some transpositions: we allow that some incidents are related by Mr. Crichton in a more enlarged form than could be afforded by the spirited and rapid narrative of his predecessor: we allow that occasional details are added from the sources and the plans directly specified in Gibbon's *notes*: but not only the great events, and the order of events are the same, for they could not well be different, but the general tone of composition is the same; the colouring is the same: the very extracts from the Koran are the same. Let our readers carefully examine the following passages, and decide according to their own unbiassed judgment. Be it presumed that our extracts are made almost at random, as we have not room for one quarter of the demonstration that might be adduced either from the life of Mohammed himself, or from the chronicle of the conquests of the succeeding caliphs.

Compare the accounts of the Ali's call to be the vizier of the prophet.

"In the fourth year he assumed the prophetic office, and resolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashem. 'Friends and kinsmen,' said Mahomet

to the assembly, 'I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. 'Who among you will support my burden? Who among you will be my companion and my vizir?' No answer was returned, till the silence of astonishment, and doubt, and contempt, was at length broken by the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. 'O prophet, I am the man: whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them.' Mahomet accepted his offer with transport, and Abu Taleb was ironically exhorted to respect the superior dignity of his son."—*Gibbon*, c. 1,

"The obedient Apostle, accordingly, directed Ali to prepare an entertainment,—a lamb and a bowl of milk,—to which forty guests of the race of Hashem were invited. After some interruption Mohammed addressed the astonished assembly :—' Friends, I this day offer you what no other person in all Arabia can offer,—the most valuable of gifts,—the treasures of this world and of that which is to come. God has enjoined me to call you to his service. Who among you will be my vizier, to share with me the burden and the toils of this important mission, to become my brother, my vicar, and ambassador?' This address was heard with silent surprize; and none seemed disposed to accept the proffered dignity. At length the impatient Ali made answer,—' I, O Prophet, will be your vizier, and obey your commands! Whoever dares to oppose you, I will tear out his eyes, dash out his teeth, break his legs, and rip open his body!' On this burst of enthusiasm, Mohammed caught the youth in his arms with the liveliest demonstrations of affection. 'Behold,' said he, 'my brother and vicegerent! Listen, and obey him.' Shouts of contemptuous laughter followed this romantic installation. The whole company turned their sarcastic eyes on Abu Taleb, as if to inquire whether the rights and honours of a father were to be violated by rendering obedience to the authority of his own son."—*Crichton*, vol. i. pp. 234, 235.

Look again to the description of the Mohammedan Creed, as an incentive to military daring.

"The Arab continued to unite the professions of a merchant and a robber; and his petty excursions for the defence or the attack of a caravan insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law: the whole was faithfully collected in one common mass: a fifth of the gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables, was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp: the rewards of the slain devolved to their widows and orphans; and the increase of cavalry was encouraged by the allotment of a double share to the horse and to the man. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder: the apostle sanctified the license of embracing the female captives as their wives

or concubines: and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. 'The sword,' says Mahomet, 'is the key of heaven and of hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim.' The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm: the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination; and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence; there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their beds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy."—*Gibbon*, c. l.

"The enthusiasm of the Arabs was thus doubly inflamed, by the hope of plunder and the promise of a sensual paradise. The decrees of an absolute fate, which would extinguish both industry and valour if men were left to the influence of a merely speculative belief, were dexterously turned into instruments for inspiring the disciples of the Koran with the most exalted and reckless courage. The companions of the prophet advanced to battle without fear. As nothing was left to chance, there was no room for danger or dismay. The same inevitable destiny that might have ordained them to perish in their beds, would not overtake them a moment sooner on the field of death, or render their persons more insecure amidst the arrows of the enemy. The lot of all was determined by a fixed and resistless predestination; with this difference, that while the man of peace departed obscure and inglorious, the fallen warrior had before his eyes the crown of martyrdom and the joys of paradise. 'The sword,' exclaimed the military apostle, 'is the key of heaven and of hell! A drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months' fasting or prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odorous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim.' The valiant martyrs of the faith were allowed to anticipate the voluptuous enjoyments of another world, by the license of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines. The interval of the four sacred months, which had hitherto suspended the fury of the most hostile tribes, was disregarded, that no impediment might retard the victorious Moslems in their mighty career of pillage and proselytism. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by the authority of revelation. The whole plunder of the forage or the battle-field was to be collected in one common mass. A fifth part the prophet reserved to himself for charitable and pious uses; the remainder was to be divided among the



soldiers, including those who guarded the camp as well as those who had been actually engaged. The portion of the slain devolved to their widows and orphans; and to encourage the increase of cavalry each horseman was allotted a double share."—*Crichton*, vol. i. pp. 253—255.

And let the reader just mark the attempt to escape detection by *transposing* the sentences.

Look at another artifice, which, although the quotations ought to be much lengthened, will be made transparent by a couple of sentences.

"Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice, the gates of heaven will be open to both sexes; but Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity, by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage."—*Gibbon*, c. l.

"Notwithstanding the prevalence of this vulgar error, the gates of paradise will be open to both sexes; but whether they shall inhabit the same or separate apartments, is a point yet undecided. Mohammed had too much respect for the fair to teach such humiliating doctrine. His law rejected the negative precept of the Gospel, of 'neither marrying nor giving in marriage;' but he has prudently abstained from specifying the male companions of the female elect, whether they will be united to their earthly spouses, or have paramours of musk created for them; lest, as an ingenious historian has remarked, he should alarm the jealousies of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting union."—*Crichton*, pp. 318, 319.

Here Mr. Crichton thinks to throw dust into our eyes by his *single* reference not to *Gibbon*, but to "*an ingenious historian*."

Compare the following accounts.

"From his establishment at Medina, Mahomet assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office; and it was impious to appeal from a judge whose decrees were inspired by the divine wisdom. A small portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans, was acquired by gift or purchase; on that chosen spot he built an house and a mosch, more venerable in their rude simplicity than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian caliphs. His seal of gold, or silver, was inscribed with the apostolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly assembly, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree; and it was long before he indulged himself in the use of a chair or pulpit of rough timber. After a reign of six years, fifteen hundred Moslems, in arms and in the field, renewed their oath of allegiance; and their chief repeated the assurance of protection till the death of the last member, or the final dissolution of the party. It was in the same camp that the deputy of Mecca was astonished by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the prophet, by the eagerness with which they collected his spittle, a hair that dropped on the ground, the refuse water of his lustrations, as if they participated in some degree of the prophetic virtue. 'I have seen,' said he, 'the Chosroes of Persia and the Cæsar of Rome, but never did

I behold a king among his subjects like Mahomet among his companions.' The devout fervour of enthusiasm acts with more energy and truth than the cold and formal servility of courts."—*Gibbon*. c. 1.

"With the functions of temporal sovereignty Mohammed conjoined that of chief priest or pontiff. During his life he was himself the only minister and expounder of his religion. At first, such was the rude simplicity of the age, he used to preach in the mosque at Medina leaning upon a post, the trunk of a palm-tree driven into the ground. Accessions of power and magnificence required more appropriate accommodation; and at length he consented to have a stair or pulpit made, three steps in height,—the uppermost of which was occupied by himself; Abu Beker being seated on the second step; and Omar on the third, with his feet resting on the ground. Tradition asserts, that the first time the prophet ascended the new rostrum, a dismal sound, like the lowing of a camel, issued from the deserted beam, expressive of grief and regret; and that the sympathising apostle, caressing the disconsolate trunk in the most endearing language, restored it to good humour, and impressed it with a conviction of the propriety of their separation.

"Nothing could exceed the respect and veneration in which Mohammed was held by his devoted followers. His wishes were anticipated, his words and looks watched with the utmost attention. Every hair that dropped on the ground was gathered with superstitious care. His spittle was eagerly caught and preserved; and the water in which he had made his ablutions, as if it inherited a sacred virtue from his touch. The ceremonious expressions of allegiance, the formal servility of courts, are cold when compared with this fervour of a blind enthusiasm. 'I have seen,' said Arwa, the deputy of Mecca, who had contemplated the Moslem camp with leisurely astonishment, 'the Khoosroes of Persia and the Cæsars of Rome in all their glory; but never did I behold a king among his subjects like Mohammed in the midst of his companions.'"—*Crichton*, vol. i. pp. 271—273.

Again: take the battle of Beder or Bedr, a distinction without a difference, or the battle of Ohud, or any one of the battles. But it is impossible to go on: or we should have a whole chapter of *Gibbon* to extract. We have only room for the death of the prophet.

"Till the age of sixty-three years, the strength of Mahomet was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. His epileptic fits, an absurd calumny of the Greeks, would be an object of pity rather than abhorrence; but he seriously believed that he was poisoned at Chaibar by the revenge of a Jewish female. During four years the health of the prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue or penitence. 'If there be any man,' said the apostle from the pulpit, 'whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Musulman? let him proclaim *my* faults in

the face of the congregation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and the interest of the debt.' 'Yes,' replied a voice from the crowd, 'I am entitled to three drams of silver.' Mahomet heard the complaint, satisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves (seventeen men, as they are named, and eleven women); minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death, he regularly performed the function of public prayer: the choice of Abubeker to supply his place, appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were visibly impaired, he called for pen and ink to write, or, more properly, to dictate a divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his revelations: a dispute arose in the chamber, whether he should be allowed to supersede the authority of the Koran; and the prophet was forced to reprove the indecent vehemence of his disciples. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained, in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle, and the faith of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favour of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution: his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and, with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: 'O God! . . . . . pardon my sins. . . . . Yes, . . . . . I come, . . . . . among my fellow-citizens on high:' and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor."—*Gibbon*, c. 1.

"Until his sixty-third year, Mohammed had sustained with unabated vigour the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. The infirmities of age had not impaired his constitution, though his health had suffered a gradual decline. His mortal disease was a fever, of which he was seized in the house of Zainab, one of his wives, while giving directions to Osama to lead an expedition into Palestine to avenge the death of Zaid, who had earned the crown of martyrdom at the battle of Muta. Finding his malady increase, he requested to be conveyed to the mansion of his favourite Ayesha, whose tenderness might sooth his last moments. To her he expressed his serious conviction that he owed the cause of his distemper to the poisoned mutton at Khaibar. For three days he suffered the torture of an intense and insupportable heat, which deprived him at intervals of the use of reason. This paroxysm

was succeeded by a more favourable crisis, and he recovered so far as to officiate at prayers in the mosque. His audience were edified by a penitential acknowledgment of his willingness to make restitution to such as he might have unconsciously wronged. 'If there be any man whom I have unjustly scourged, I offer my back to the lash of retaliation. If I have aspersed his reputation, let him proclaim my faults. If I have taken his money, or despoiled him of his goods, I am ready to give the little I possess to compensate his loss. Let my accuser make his demand; it is not my disposition to resent the claims of justice.' 'Yes,' exclaimed a voice from the crowd, 'you owe me three drachms of silver.' Mohammed immediately discharged the debt, and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world rather than at the day of judgment.

"To his latest hour, and amidst sorrow and suffering, he continued to act the character of the prophet; evincing at the closing scene of mortality the same remarkable fortitude and presence of mind that he had displayed on the field of battle. In one instance only did the violence of disease betray his wandering faculties into a momentary illusion, when he called for pen and ink, that he might write a book for the better instruction of his followers, and to consummate the work of revelation. The proposal was startling, and met with opposition, as the Koran was deemed sufficient: the chamber of sickness was disturbed by an unseasonable dispute, until the dying prophet was forced to reprimand the indecent vehemence of his disciples. Unwilling that his attendants should witness the recurrence of his infirmities, he ordered all persons to be excluded from his apartment; and the last three days of his existence were spent in the exclusive society of Ayesha.

"Tradition, which disfigured his life with romance, has left us to contemplate the circumstance of his death through a cloud of superstitious incense. If we are to place the slightest credit on the evidence of his only companion, he received more incontestable proofs to establish the truth of his mission at its termination than in any former period. Gabriel made regular visits of condolence and inquiry after his health. The angel of death was not permitted to separate his soul from his body till he had respectfully solicited permission to enter the chamber. The request was granted, and the last office performed with all the deference of a servant to the command of his master. When the moment of his departure approached, his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha; he fainted in the agony of pain, but recovering his spirits, and raising his eyes with a steady look towards the roof of the apartment, he uttered with a faltering voice the following broken and scarcely articulate expressions:—'O God!—pardon me—have pity—Yes,—receive me—among my fellow-citizens on high!' and immediately expired on a carpet spread on the floor."—*Crichton*, vol. i. pp. 286—288.

Now, if our readers are not satisfied, we can only wish that we had more space for quotations: if Mr. Crichton is not satisfied, we can only say that he is insatiable.

These parallel passages, and parallel passages indeed they are, will speak, trumpet-tongued, for themselves. Yet we should not have noticed them, if they had been borrowed with a candid confession of the debt. We *do* notice them, because, as far as we can discern, there is not one word of acknowledgment—or one phrase marked as a quotation—or one reference made to Gibbon throughout.

As to this part, then, of his record, we bring a distinct charge of plagiarism against Mr. Crichton,—plagiarism so palpable, that our confidence in the genuineness of the entire work is altogether shaken, and we think that it is fully borne out by the instances which we have cited. For, notwithstanding the array of other authorities, who can doubt, that any man endued with a common capacity of stringing two sentences together, might have written almost every line with nothing in the world but Gibbon's history before him? \* And the case appears worse, from the slight changes, as, for example, of synonymous epithets, so manifestly

\* Not only does Mr. Crichton make no mention of Gibbon in giving a list of authorities for his biographical memoir of Mohammed; but he evidently and disingenuously tries to distract attention from Gibbon, and put the reader on a false scent by a long and pedantic list of learned names.

He says in his text, "Though much uncertainty on this subject has been removed by our increased acquaintance with the literature of the East, and a more candid spirit of investigation introduced, there still remains considerable obscurity respecting the personal history of Mohammed. The narratives of his life are broken and disjointed, resting sometimes on equivocal evidence, and very often enveloped in a thick cloud of supernatural wonders, that makes it difficult to separate between earth and heaven, or discriminate the exact bounds of truth and fiction." And then he subjoins in a note, "The authors who have written Lives of Mohammed it would be tedious to enumerate. The best Arabic biography yet discovered is that by Abulfeda, which was translated into Latin in 1723, and illustrated with copious notes by John Gagnier, professor of Arabic at Oxford. This work, for a Mussulman, is candid and judicious. Al Beidawi, Shahrestani, Al Jannabi, Nuvairi, Mircond, and most of the other Oriental historians, are full of legends, and not worth noticing here: they have been consulted and copiously used by D'Herbelot and the authors of the Universal History. (Mod. Part, vol. i.) The Lives of Mohammed, not mere translations, but compiled from various authors, are innumerable. That by Dean Prideaux, published in 1697, has been long popular: it is learned but dull, compiled from suspicious authorities, and tainted with prejudice. The one by the Count de Boulainvilliers, which appeared in 1730, is deserving of no credit, either for its sentiments or its consistency with fact. It is a preliminary essay or romance rather than a history, being a mere fragment, and bringing the life of the Prophet only down to the fifth year of his mission. The learned Abbé Maracci prefixed a life, full of bitter invective, to his Translation and Refutation of the Koran (in 1698). Gagnier compiled a biography, in 2 vols., from the Koran and the best Arabic authors, in 1752. He is impartial; but he writes like a Mussulman,—recording facts and fables, miracles and visions, with the same imperturbable solemnity, and without a single remark. That prefixed to Savary's Translation of the Koran is an excellent abridgment of the Prophet's Life."—vol. i. pp. 219, 220.

Al Beidawi! Shahrestani! Al Jannabi! Nuvairi! Mircond! Pray, Mr. Crichton have a little merry upon our feeble intellects! For who, under the stunning influence of all this amazing erudition, can have power to recollect that there is an English author, one Edward Gibbon, who has devoted two chapters of his History to an account of Mahomet and Mahometanism?

made by design : from the thin cloak of alteration, in which there is an endeavour to conceal the identity of the accounts. Nay : we are wrong ; the *cloak* is Gibbon's cloak ; but Mr. Crichton has attempted to disguise it by putting on other buttons. Why did he not say at once, Mr. Gibbon has described the "fortunes and character of Mohammed so excellently well, that I have preferred to make use of his language, instead of writing the biography again, and writing it worse." A course like this would have spoken more for the literary credit of Mr. Crichton, and not less for the strength of his understanding, and the soundness of his self-knowledge. In short, there are sundry amplifications, but there is scarcely a new idea ; scarcely an accession to our previous information, unless we are to be extremely grateful for the change of Mahomet into Mohammed, or Mahommed ; and our old friend "Caled" into "Khaled," and "Sophian" into "Sofian," and "Bedoween" into "Bedouins ;" with a diversity of similar metamorphoses, which may perhaps be metamorphosed back by the next traveller who returns to us from the East.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Crichton is evidently a man of talent and acquirement, and as his book is certainly not *below* the average of volumes written under parallel circumstances, we make a victim of him with reluctance and regret. He is the victim of a book-making system, and a book-making age. And, if his work did not happen to be on a subject, upon which, we think, a few observations may be beneficially subjoined, we should have seized and bound some greater and more notorious delinquent. Since, however, we are officiating priests, however humble, in the service of literature, we are compelled, with all possible tenderness, to sacrifice him upon her altar ; while we keep our eye upon others, whom we may, perhaps, immolate hereafter upon the same shrine in one great and glorious hecatomb. For we confess, that our patience is exhausted, when modern publications are palmed upon the world with every external advantage and decoration, while the prior works, in which the whole substance is to be found, are neglected for the want of them ; when we see men, whom we could name, making to themselves a kind of popular reputation by plundering the living ; or when we too often find that the boasted march towards a supposed perfectibility in knowledge is, after all, but a faint echo of the footsteps of the illustrious dead.

It may be bad logic to reason from a fraction to the whole ; it may be bad taste to raise the stale cry, *ex uno disce omnes* ; but we deliberately repeat, that in other cases besides the case of Mr. Crichton, we could bring forward premises which would lead of necessity to an equally uncomfortable conclusion.

The length of the preceding observations, which have run on to

a much greater extent, and branched out into many more ramifications, than we intended, will oblige us to curtail our notice of that general and mighty subject which we wished to have set before our readers, namely, a comparative view of Christianity and Mohammedanism in their past and present state. Let us hope, that this inquiry—one of the most serious and important which can possibly occupy the human mind—will soon be taken up by some writer competent to do it justice; as justice has *not* been done by any of the late delineations, Mr. Crichton's being included in the number; and the older dissertations, we are free to confess, are partial in their tone, and most imperfect in their information. For ourselves, we can do little more than suggest the heads which such an inquiry should embrace: we mean the nature and character of the two religions abstractedly considered—the evidence on which they rest—the results which they have produced, and the influence which they are now exerting upon the human race—the probable fate which appears respectively reserved for them in the womb of time and amidst the progressive changes of society. If the investigation were temperately but worthily pursued, we would leave the decision of its merits almost without a scruple to the verdict of those self-styled philosophers themselves, who look upon both creeds with an equal eye of arrogant incredulity. Yet we are not ignorant that the system most favoured by these deep and liberal thinkers is, that Christianity and Mohammedanism are both false but both useful, just for the present, in their respective divisions of the earth, as preparatory dispensations, which may open the way hereafter for an universal and rational Deism; in short, that as yet religion, like gold in its virgin and unadulterated state, is too fine and too pure a thing for general purposes; and that the one must be mixed with a due proportion of errors and superstitions, before it can be fitted to have a pervading influence upon the public, as the other must be hardened by a due alloy of baser metal, before it can pass current as the coin of the realm. As the time, therefore, for the abolition of Christianity does not appear to have arrived, or even to be definitively fixed, we shall take advantage of the brief respite so graciously allowed us to express our confidence that as the case rests between Christianity and Mohammedanism,—the only positive religion which has obscured the triumphs of the Gospel for a moment,—a candid reasoner cannot fail to perceive that the contrast is as strong as between light and darkness, and that any effort or pretence to mix them up together as similar institutions, or pronounce upon them in the same terms, must be a proof either of the grossest ignorance, or the most malignant misrepresentation.

1. If he looks to the nature of the two religions, the veriest infidel must see that the one is of a high, and holy, and unearthly character, too much sublimed, he may perhaps think, from the common feelings and wishes of mankind; too meek, too passive, too unworldly, for the struggles and collisions of life; but still of a transcendent purity and beauty, and fresh with the everlasting hues of moral loveliness: he must see that the other is, in many and momentous parts, nothing but a coarse and clumsy imitation of Christianity; that it would have had no existence at all, if Christianity had not previously existed; that it gained its strongest hold by taking advantage of one point, upon which apparent abuses at least had crept into the Christian church, namely, the Unity of God; that all which it possesses of attractiveness and truth is borrowed from the faith which it would supplant; and that all which it can boast of originality or novelty belonging to itself is poor, and sensual, and low, vulgar in its conception, and debasing in its effects. He must see that the one is a jealous and exclusive religion, which, while it admits neither of partnership nor compromise, makes its way against the full stream of man's natural appetites and carnal desires; but that the other is framed, as it were, mainly "*ad captandum*;" and, as its first aim was to *adapt* and thus *add* itself to former creeds, to propitiate Jewish and even Christian prepossessions, so it still seeks to find friends in the strongest passions and propensities, the common weaknesses and distempers, of humanity.

Reason, therefore, would already suggest to us, even if we went no farther, that the one of those religions *might* well be of divine, while the other bore incontestable marks that it was of human, origin.

Indeed, if we advert to those antecedent and immutable tests which must always separate true religion from false, we find them all present in Christianity, and absent from Mohammedanism. The tests to which we allude are, that a religion should be *universal*, or capable of *universality* in its adaptation;—that, as based upon the everlasting principles of human nature, it should be applicable to all mankind, in all countries, and all times; therefore that it should be at once *permanent* and *progressive*,—at once *strict* and *accommodative*; and therefore again, that it should be *all-sufficient* in its own sphere, and thoroughly accomplish its own majestic and beneficent design, without interfering with the proper researches and advancements of human science, or fixing an incumbent weight upon the elasticity and energy of the human intellect; but, most of all, that it should be calculated to draw forth the perfection of the human character, and therefore addressed to the highest parts and principles of human nature.



What a contrast is presented by the two religions in every one of these respects. Mohammedanism is partial in its whole essence : it has not the germ of a possible universality within it ; and therefore cannot spring from that Supreme Being, who is equally the God and Father of all. Its founder knew nothing, thought of nothing, made provision for nothing, beyond the regions which had been familiar to his infancy. It is fitted only for a hot and oriental climate ; and near the poles its ablutions would be injurious, and its prayers would be physically impossible. Christianity, although originating in a country, where the heat and cold are similar, and with a being, who had certainly not larger opportunities of human information than the Arabian impostor, yet lays its prospective grasp upon the whole race of mankind. Christianity is not a matter of *localities* : it does not make religion a thing of climate, variable with the variations of the thermometer, only able to live, like certain animals, or grow, like certain plants, in peculiar degrees of latitude and longitude. The Iclander and the Negro, the inhabitant of the Eastern hemisphere or the Western, yes, every native of Europe, or Asia, or Africa, or America, is alike capable of being blest by its assurances, and may alike discover in his heart an echo to its doctrines. Mohammedanism has perhaps been misunderstood and traduced as to those portions of its creed which relate to the condition of women, and the character of the female soul ; but no rational being can examine the Mohammedan tenets, or contemplate the description of the Mohammedan paradise, without being convinced that it is a faith more fitted for *one* sex than for the other. Christianity, we need not say, offers present and future happiness equally to both ; and therefore we might well smile, if religious delusion were not a thing too serious for smiles, at the followers of Johanna Southcote, when they talk about the necessity of a *female* saviour ; and well may we nauseate the pestilent and loathsome rubbish about the "*emancipation of women*," which the apostles of Simonianism are now labouring to introduce.

Nor can Mohammedanism be either permanent or progressive more than it is universal. Christianity is truly progressive in a certain sense, for it is progressive even in its evidences ; it is capable of infinite progression from the plastic and expansive power, by which it accommodates itself to every combination of circumstances, to every state and stage of human society ; and yet it secures its permanent identity by the inflexible holiness of its doctrines, the immutable character of its author and its laws. Christianity is equally wise in its ordinances and in its omissions. Mohammedanism does at once too little and too much. It does

too little, by stopping short of any original attempt to explain God's moral and spiritual government, or man's inherent imperfections and contrarieties: it does too much, by assuming a direct interference with matters of civil policy or physical science; by placing an iron barrier in the way of legislative or scientific advancement, by fixing a chain across the harbour, when men would either embark and go forth in quest of human knowledge, or come home laden with its fruits.

The more narrowly, then, we inspect the two schemes of belief, the more clearly do we find, that Mohammed was, after all, little more than an acute barbarian; an enthusiast, advanced in skill and knowledge far beyond the average of his Arab contemporaries; but utterly deficient, when tried by any ideal standard of wisdom or virtue: and, in the same proportion, and by the same close scrutiny, do we discover more and more the very perfection of *abstract* prudence and excellence in all the institutions of Jesus Christ. The faith of Islam wears the stamp of imposture upon its brow: for it has not only no *foresight*, but no *philosophy*. Instead of bringing out the highest feelings, and penetrating into the inmost recesses of man's nature, it has positively no acquaintance with them. It offers no solution of the great enigma of existence: it affords no key to man's moral and spiritual position: it has absolutely no conception, beyond what it has appropriated from the Bible, of the vast mysteries and profound abysses of man's constitution and destiny. Christianity, on the other hand, if we may so speak, applies to them the most wondrous, and searching, and accurate *metaphysics*. Christianity, without the slightest pretension to system, or systematic arrangement—without one technical expression, or one scholastic term, dives into the farthest depths of our universal being; and explains its anomalies, and reconciles its contradictions, and threads the labyrinth of its errors and vices; and not only reveals God to man, but reveals man to himself.

But the objection may be started, if Mohammed was so ignorant, and his scheme has so little foundation in a capacious knowledge of human nature, how are we to account for his wide and rapid success? This apparent stumbling-block, however, arises from a misapprehension of the real question at issue. No one denies to Mohammed a very considerable measure of acquaintance with the *prominent* and *obvious* lineaments of human nature. But this, we confidently state, is a common-place, and shallow, and superficial, and worldly thing. Nay, we go farther, and affirm, that his success was wide and rapid, *because* his knowledge of man was, in this sense, common-place, and shallow, and superficial, and worldly: *because* he touched the springs, which lie upon the

surface; *because* he worked upon those feelings and tendencies, which are merely the *proximate* causes of human action: and so appealed to the pride and sensuality of the Arabians, just as Napoleon appealed to the ambition and vain-glory of the French. But a man must be miserably dark as to his own state, and can never have consulted the inward oracles of his own spirit, unless he has learnt that something is required altogether distinct from this worldly cleverness: something which immeasurably transcends it both in kind and degree: and that no form of religion can be a true religion, unless it holds out a lamp to illuminate the hidden chambers of the understanding and the heart, and burn on with a steady and increasing lustre even amidst the denseness and the foulness of that moral atmosphere.

Of true, internal evidence, then, Mohammedanism has nothing, and Christianity has every thing. For really we cannot admit into the computation the alleged beauties of style manifested by the Koran. If the Koran were as sublime as the sublimest prophecies of Isaiah, and as noble as the noblest passages of St. Paul, we should still dispute the validity of the argument, when grounded upon the *style*, as distinct from the matter of a revelation. To say nothing of the vast untravelled distance between the Bible and the Koran, when seen together by the equal light of a literal translation, we protest against the naked absurdity of resting the divine origin of a religion upon the graces of composition alone. We might as well attempt to prove the truth of Paganism from the beauties of the Iliad: and assert that Jupiter is God, and Homer is his Prophet, because the poem is so fine, that it could only have been written or dictated by Jupiter.

Into the *experimental* evidence in either case, or the practical influence of the two faiths, as displayed by their respective believers, we shall have a fuller insight, when we come to the historical results. Yet it is no breach of candour to say, that between Mohammedanism and Christianity a comparison can hardly be made, whether in public or private affairs; whether upon the broadest or the narrowest scale. We firmly believe, however, that a good Moslem is likely to be a much better man, and a much better citizen, than a philosophical infidel among the Moslems. Of the two evils—and how strong an argument is this for missionary zeal and ardour in the propagation of Christianity—the evil of a false and superstitious faith is less than the evil of a callous and earthly-minded scepticism. For we firmly believe that the emptiest and most corrupt religion, inasmuch as it partakes of the common nature of all religion, has more truth in its theory, and produces consequences less deplorable from its actual efficacy, than the total absence and negation of religion. The

worst religion, we repeat, is not so bad as none; and even from Mohammedanism a man may learn the rudimental notions of a future responsibility—and justice—and charity—and prayer and reverence to God—and truth—and some kind of temperance and controul over his passions: while from utter irreligion he can learn nothing but hardness of heart, and debasement of intellect, and ungovernable selfishness of will. Still we shall not inflict upon the Gospel the grievous wrong of speaking of its experimental evidence in the same breath with the species of experimental evidence, which would show Mohammedanism to be less baneful than Atheism.

As to the direct *external* evidence deducible from miracles and prophecies in the respective cases of the two religions, the contrast is even more extraordinary. Upon the Christian prophecies and miracles, it would be at best superfluous to expatiate. Let us only take the occasion to say, that in Mr. Crichton's book there are many corroborative testimonies how exactly and how literally the Scriptural predictions, which bear upon Arabia and the Arabs, either have been accomplished, or are in the course of accomplishment.

The evidence from *prophecies*, on which *Mohammedanism* would attempt to rest, we shall quote, as it is given in an excellent work, recently published by the Rev. James Carlile, entitled "Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of the Holy Scriptures."

"Mohammed offered his religion as a continuation or completion of the Jewish and the Christian. He admitted the divine inspiration of Moses and the prophets, and also of Jesus and his apostles, although he charged the Jews and Christians of his day with having corrupted their respective sacred books. To connect his religion with that of Scripture, he searched the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments for passages that he might represent as being prophetical of himself; and the following are the chief of those that have been selected by him and his followers.

"Deut. xxxiii. 2.—'The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten thousand of saints: from his right hand went a fiery law for them.' In this passage, the Moslem writers say, is meant the coming down of the law to Moses on mount Sinai, of the Gospel to Jesus at Jerusalem, and of the Koran to Mohammed at Mecca. For, say they, Seir signifies the mountains of Jerusalem, where Jesus appeared; and Paran the mountains of Mecca, where Mohammed appeared. Here, however, their ignorance of geography betrays them. The mount Seir of Scripture is not in Palestine, but in Edom, now part of Arabia, and called Djebel Sheera till this day; and mount Paran, or Pharan, is above five hundred miles distant from Mecca.

“ Ps. l. 2.—‘ Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined.’ The Syriac version reads this passage thus: ‘ Out of Zion God hath showed a glorious crown;’ and the Arabic version, which was translated from the Syriac, and with which alone Mohammed was acquainted, expresses the two last words by *Eclinan Mahmudan*, *i. e.* an honourable crown. And the word Mahmudan being somewhat like Mohammed, they read the verse thus: ‘ Out of Zion God hath showed Mohammed’s crown.’ This is founded on mistranslation at second hand: and, besides, it foretels no event that has actually occurred, for God has never showed Mahommed’s crown out of Zion.

“ Is. xxi. 7.—‘ And he saw a chariot, with a couple of horsemen, a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels.’ This passage, the old Latin version reads: ‘ And he saw a chariot of two horsemen, a rider upon an ass, and a rider upon a camel.’ By the rider upon the ass the Moslem writers understand Jesus Christ, because he rode into Jerusalem upon an ass; and by the rider on the camel, they understand Mohammed, because he was an Arab, and the Arabs are accustomed to ride on camels. This needs no refutation.

“ John xvi. 7.—Our Saviour tells his disciples, ‘ If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.’ By the Comforter, they would have us to understand Mohammed, whom they, therefore, call the ‘ Paraclete,’ which is the Greek word rendered ‘ Comforter’ in our version. This also is a mistranslation in the Arabic version, in consequence of the translators mistaking the Greek word, rendered comforter, for another Greek word somewhat like it, the meaning of which is ‘ Illustrious.’ For they say, that the meaning of Mohammed’s name is ‘ Illustrious.’ Our Lord, however, himself explains whom he meant, when he adds, ‘ even the Spirit of truth;’ and then tells the disciples that the Spirit would come to them at Jerusalem, ‘ not many days hence;’ which promise was accordingly fulfilled in the descent of the Holy Ghost at the day of Pentecost.

“ In addition to these passages, the Koran asserts, that Jesus foretold the coming of Mohammed in the following words: ‘ O! children of Israel, verily I am the Apostle of God, sent unto you, confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing good tidings of an Apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be ANNED.’ This was an argument addressed to the ignorance of his followers, as no such passage exists in the Gospels. He indeed complains frequently that both Jews and Christians suppressed passages, both in the Old and New Testament, which foretold his coming. This, however, was an evidence of his own ignorance; for the copies of the Scriptures were, long before his days, so widely scattered abroad, in so many languages, that it was impossible either to mutilate or to interpolate them, without incurring the certainty of detection; and, if ever there were such passages, Mohammed could have had no difficulty in adducing them to the satisfaction, or, at least, to the silencing of his enemies.”—*Carlile*, pp. 239—240.

As to the *Mohammedan miracles*, Mr. Crichton’s account is graphic and curious enough, and we are glad to cite it as a fa-

vourable specimen of the work, the more particularly as it only pretends to be an abridgment of Gagnier.

"Religion, whether true or false, has usually appealed to the confirmation of miracles. These credentials the Impostor himself admitted to be authentic. According to his own doctrine, therefore, the unbelieving Arabs might demand, and they did repeatedly urge him to produce, similar evidence of his mission. Sensible of his weakness, he evaded the force of their objections; appealing to the inimitable composition of the Koran as the greatest of all miracles, and protecting himself by the obscure boast of vision and prophecy.

"His votaries, however, were neither so modest nor so ingenuous. Of his miraculous gifts they were more confident than he was himself; and much learning has been expended, and innumerable volumes written, to convince the world that his miracles were more numerous than those of all the inspired teachers who had gone before him.

"The first of these signal performances was the Miracle of the Splitting, alluding to his cleaving the orb of the moon in twain. The Koreish, wishing to confound him before the eyes of his fellow-citizens, had challenged him to verify his claims by bringing that luminary from heaven in presence of the whole assembly. Mohammed accepted the proposal with confidence. At his command the sky was darkened at noon; when the obedient planet, though but five days old, appeared full-orbed, leapt from the firmament, and, bounding through the air, alighted on the summit of the Kaaba, which it encircled by seven distinct revolutions. Turning to the Prophet it did him reverence, addressed him in very elegant Arabic, and pronounced a discourse in his praise, concluding with a formula of the Moslem creed. These salutations finished, it entered the right sleeve of his mantle, and made its exit by the left. Then descending from the collar of his robe to the fringe, it mounted into the air, separating into two halves. In this manner it resumed its station in the sky, the parts gradually uniting in one round and luminous orb as before. Such is the substance of a ridiculous fiction invented by the biographers of Mohammed, who have coloured it with more extravagance and minuteness of detail than we have ventured to narrate.

"The next legendary adventure of the Prophet is yet more extraordinary,—the *Mesra*, or famous Nocturnal Journey to heaven; of which the Eastern writers, in the wild delirium of their fancy, have given the most laboured and grotesque descriptions. With sublime touches of imagination, that would have done honour to the muse of Milton or Dante, they have mixed a legion of idle phantoms and puerile wonders too shocking and extravagant even for the credulity of childhood.

"On the night of this celestial excursion, calm but exceedingly dark, Mohammed represents himself as asleep between the hills of Safa and Meroua, when Gabriel approached and awoke him. Having apprised the Prophet of his intended voyage, he presented him with the animal called Borak, a sort of nondescript, larger than an ass, but smaller than a mule, with a human face and the body of a horse. His colour was

milkwhite ; the hair of his neck of fine pearls ; his ears emeralds, and his eyes two sparkling hyacinths. His whole body, wings, and tail, bristled with the finest jewellery.

“ In the twinkling of an eye they cleared the hills of Mecca, and were on the top of Sinai, where prayers were said, and where the print of the beast’s hoof is still shown. In the same manner they performed their devotions at Jerusalem, where Mohammed received the salutations of the ancient prophets, and met with divers other adventures. Leaving Borak fastened to a ring at the gate of the Temple, the travellers ascended by a ladder of light, through an immense expanse of air, till they reached the first heaven, distant a journey of 500 years from the earth. It was composed of a subtile vapour, with a roof of fine silver, from which hung the stars by chains of massive gold. They entered by a prodigious gate, which, on the name of Mohammed being announced, was opened by the porter. The first person with whom he exchanged salutations was Adam, who appeared in the form of a decrepit old man, and hailed him as the greatest and best of his posterity. The whole firmament swarmed with angels, all busy in their several occupations, some watering the clouds, others chanting hymns. They appeared in all manner of shapes,—men, beasts, and birds ; for each assumed the likeness of those terrestrial creatures intrusted to their spiritual guardianship. The most conspicuous of these was the angel or representative of the cocks, white as snow, and of such gigantic stature that his head touched the second heaven, (a distance of 500 years’ travel,) or, as others affirm, reached through all the seven heavens. He assisted in the matin songs of the angelic choirs, and gave the signal for all his species to crow, whether material or immaterial.

“ The second heaven was of pure gold, and contained twice as many angels as the first. Here Mohammed was saluted by Noah, who commended himself to his prayers ; but he was not permitted to take further notice of the various marvels he saw. The third heaven was made of precious stones, and more populous than the second. Here the travellers were greeted by David and Solomon, and saw a huge angel, called the Faithful of God, who had 100,000 others under his command. In the fourth heaven, which was of emerald, they received the felicitations of Enoch and Joseph. Here they beheld an angel of a very stern and terrible aspect, the distance between whose eyes was equal to 70,000 days’ journey, according to the rate of Arabian travelling ; and such was his capacity, that he could have swallowed the seven heavens and seven earths as easily as a pea. Before him was a large table, on which he was continually writing, inserting the names of all that were born, computing the days of their lives, and blotting them out from his register the moment their allotted portion of years expired. It was Azrael, the angel of death, whose emissaries traverse the earth perpetually, keeping watch over the issues of human life. No smile ever lighted up his dismal visage, his business being to weep and make lamentations for the sins of men.

“ Into the fifth heaven, which was composed of adamant, they were admitted by a gate of pure silver, inscribed with the Mohammedan

creed. Aaron congratulated them on their arrival. This sphere was the great storehouse of God's wrath :—a black and horrid pit vomiting forth a thick smoke, the stench of which was insupportable. The presiding angel of this infernal treasury was hideously deformed, his withering look being enough to blast the material universe. His eyes were of rolling flame; his face like copperas, disfigured with wens and excrescences; and around him lay darts and chains of fire, the terrible instruments of Divine vengeance, which were kept in constant preparation for rebellious sinners, especially for the unbelieving Arabs. Quitting these dreary mansions they advanced to the sixth heaven, which was of carbuncle. At some distance they perceived an aged man, with shaggy hair, clothed in a woollen garment, and leaning on a staff. It was Moses, who saluted his brother Prophet, but immediately burst into tears at the thought that this 'Arabian boy' would be instrumental in bringing more of the race of Ishmael into paradise than he and all the prophets had done of the Jewish nation. Here they met with a new prodigy in pneumatology,—an angel, one half of whose body was snow and the other fire, yet these discordant elements were neither melted nor extinguished.

"But the most marvellous of all created beings was the tutelar angel of the seventh heaven. He had 70,000 heads, each head 70,000 faces, each face as many mouths, each mouth as many tongues, and each tongue spoke seventy thousand different languages, all of which were employed incessantly in praise and adoration. This last and highest of the celestial spheres was made of divine light. Here was the abode of Abraham, and, according to some, of Jesus Christ, who is alleged to have treated Mohammed with the same respect as the other prophets.

"Having penetrated to the lotus-tree, (Al Sedra,) which is the utmost limit of created knowledge, the boundary of these delicious regions, beyond which no angel dares to pass, Gabriel took leave of his fellow-traveller, commending him to the protection of superior spirits during the remainder of his journey. Continuing his march through ranks of glorified cherubim, and crossing two seas, one of light and one of darkness, the solitary Prophet passed the 70,000 veils of separation, each being a journey of 500 years in thickness, and the same in distance between them. They were composed, some of darkness, others of fire, snow, water, ether, and chaos. Finally, he pierced the veils of Beauty, of Perfection, of Omnipotence, of Singularity, of Immensity, and of Unity. When the last of these was raised, 70,000 spirits were seen prostrate before the throne, which was surrounded by a light of the most dazzling brightness. A voice commanded him to draw near; on which he advanced till within two cubits, or bows' length, of the Divine presence. As a mark of his favour, the Almighty, we are informed, laid his hand on the Prophet's shoulder, when a feeling of intense cold thrilled to the marrow over his whole frame, but was immediately superseded by a sensation of inexpressible sweetness. This was followed, as he pretended, by a long and familiar intercourse with the Supreme Being, who revealed to him many hidden mysteries, instructed him in the knowledge of his law, and conferred on him several extraor-



dinary privileges. The last of his instructions was the command of fifty daily prayers, afterwards reduced by the advice of Moses to five, enjoined on all Mussulmans.

“Bidding adieu to these glorious regions, Mohammed rejoined his conductor Gabriel, whom he found by the lotus-tree. The travellers now bent their course towards the earth, receiving every where, as they passed, the compliments and benedictions of angels, who flocked in crowds to salute them. At Jerusalem they found Borak in the exact position they had left him, and in less than a second they arrived at Mecca, the slumbering inhabitants being quite unconscious of the transactions of that marvellous expedition; for the whole journey, a labour of many thousand years, was performed in the tenth part of a night. Such is the celebrated *History of the Ascension*, as Abu Horaira calls it, whose minute and circumstantial narrative we have abridged from Gagnier.”—*Crichton*, vol. i. pp. 239—246.

And this is all that can be opposed to those innumerable predictions, and those stupendous miracles, on which Christianity is built, as on a rock!

We have now only to turn our eyes for a moment to the *results* of the two systems; but here we can add nothing to the overwhelming testimony of the widest and most conspicuous facts. “*Si queris, circumspice.*” We point to the different aspects of the Mohammedan and Christian portions of the globe. On the one side we see man, from generation to generation, almost become stationary, like the inferior animals. We see him bound by a depressing thralldom, which he can never break without breaking the whole fabric of his faith. We see him groaning under the leaden sceptre of a religion as unwise as it is unspiritual; as fatal to the moral and intellectual progress of the human race, as it is ignorant of the true economy and providence of God. On the other side, we see the blessed influences of a creed which loves to take philosophy and science as its hand-maids,—which leaves to reason its proper prerogative, and to the natural activities of man their proper direction and their legitimate sphere. This Mohammedanism has not dared to do, and therefore it will surely perish; and every form of Christianity, as far as its *distinctive* character is concerned, will perish too, whether it be Popery, or any modern scheme of evangelical Protestantism, which will not venture to submit itself to the fair scrutiny of the understanding; but would fix a gulf between religion and reason, between human knowledge and divine. We cannot stop to qualify this assertion, for it is a digression in itself; but we discern some growing symptoms in the popular theology of the day which have constrained us to make it, even at the risk of some misrepresentation and reproach. Real Christianity blends—we will not talk of rationalism—but the purest

*reasonableness* with the highest godliness. Real Christianity, if we may so speak, intellectualizes as it spiritualizes the world; and not merely every country, but every parish, and district, and hamlet, where it visibly exists, smiles with the healthy countenance of human industry, and glows with the ardent tread of human advancement, as it teems with thrilling devotion to a Creator and a Saviour.

The actual consequences, then, of the two religions are just such as their nature might have led us to expect; and also as to their present attitude and future doom, our *à priori* speculations are fully verified by historical and statistical records, which it is impossible to dispute. Mohammedanism, as we might well have supposed, has had its brief and stormy career of blood-stained brilliancy; but its crescent wanes, and its sun is going down.—The glory of its empire has departed for ever. At first, a religious fanaticism was the parent of an astonishing success, in the same way (although to an extent far more prodigious) as a military and political fanaticism led the republican armies from victory to victory in the early periods of the French revolution. Mohammedanism burst forth indeed with an outbreak of triumphant splendour; but it is not improbable that, in proportion to the whole duration of earth, its conquests will have lasted little more time, and made little more of eventual impression, than the spread of the Wahabees, in proportion to the whole existence of Mohammedanism itself. Mohammedanism has come with a violent and sudden occupancy: Christianity comes with a moral and spiritual colonization. The true engines of the one faith are war and the sword; the true engines of the other are peace and missions. Mohammedanism has been like the irruption of a torrent, for an instant bearing down every thing before it with a destructive velocity, advancing and then receding with the traces, not of fertilization, but of ravage. Christianity is rather as a gradual tillage, making its beautiful incroachments more and more upon the fetid marsh and the tangled forest, causing the surface to bloom with abundance, and the bosom of the soil to bring forth a continual increase of inestimable fruits. For history, we repeat, affords the amplest confirmation of these remarks, both as to the faith of Islam, and as to the faith of the Gospel. History best tells us, both with how appalling a swiftness the star of Mohammed rose into the ascendant, and with how complete a certainty it is now sinking into an irrecoverable eclipse: and it would be injustice to Mr. Crichton not to allow that he has vividly depicted the rise of that colossal but short-lived greatness,—that vast but uncemented edifice, not merely of military domination, but literary and scientific renown;—and also,

that in *this* chapter, at p. 450, he has the grace to speak of the "*rapid and glowing narrative of Gibbon.*"

"A victorious line of march had been prolonged above 1000 miles, from the Rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire. The repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland. The Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or the Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. The seven Saxon kingdoms of Britain, torn by wars and factions, must have presented but a feeble barrier to the Eastern invaders, whose hardy frames seemed equally adapted to all climes and all countries. The Heptarchy, which the victorious arms and judicious policy of Egbert had united, might have passed into the hands of a viceroy from the court of Bagdad. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran might have become the scholastic divinity of the halls of Oxford and Edinburgh. Our cathedrals might have been supplanted by the gorgeous mosque, and our pulpits employed in demonstrating to a circumcised people the truth of the apostleship and revelations of Mohammed. Such was the destiny that seemed to impend over all Europe, from the Baltic to the Cyclades, when the standard of Islam floated over the walls of Tours."—p. 451.

"When the Arabs first tried their valour at Muta against a foreign enemy, they could scarcely have anticipated that, before the close of a century, their empire should have exceeded in extent the greatest monarchies of ancient times, or that the successors of their Prophet should have risen to be the most powerful and absolute sovereigns on earth. Yet such was the fact. Their caliphs exercised a most unlimited and undefined prerogative, unfettered by popular rights, the votes of a senate, or the laws of a free constitution. They united in their own person the regal and sacerdotal characters; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over nations to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who had not yet learned to detest those acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their expense. Under the last of the Ommiades, the Saracen empire extended 200 days' journey from east to west; and though the long and narrow province of Africa, the sleeve of the robe, as their writers style it, were withdrawn, the solid and compact dominion within the Jaxartes, the Hellespont, and the Indus, would spread on every side to the measure of five months of the march of a caravan in length, and four in breadth. From this estimate an important fragment was soon detached by the revolt of Spain; but its loss was more than counterbalanced by the subsequent conquests in India, Tartary, and European Turkey. This vast empire was ruled by a wretched political system, in which we seek in vain for the union and discipline that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines. The only national feature was that general resemblance of manners and opinions which the progress of Islam had diffused over this immense space. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at

Samarcand and Seville; the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the Temple of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris."—pp. 463, 464.

The following observations, taken from the Introduction, are also striking, and in some degree just.

"Short as was the career of the military pageant, which achieved such vast and extraordinary changes in the moral and political state of a large portion of the world, it is replete with events interesting to the statesman and the philosopher; unfolding a series of characters and incidents that will both engage and reward our curiosity. The victories, revolutions, and capricious vicissitudes of human fortune that pass by in rapid succession, are without example in any nation of ancient or modern Europe. The catalogue of the leading personages, the caliphs and conquerors that figured on this remarkable theatre, presents some strange contrasts to the ordinary history of successful adventurers, and the distribution of earthly grandeur. Among other nations, heroes and legislators generally require a process of training; and it is only by slow and persevering degrees that the usurper ascends the pinnacle of his ambition. Here we have the rare spectacle of slaves mounted on thrones; lawless bandits becoming the dispensers of justice and protection; illiterate shepherds and merchants suddenly transformed into the commanders of armies, or vested with the solemn functions of kings and pontiffs. Yet, singular as it may appear, not a few of them were distinguished for civil and military talents; others have gained a lasting celebrity by their patronage and love of science; and some of them shed a lustre on the diadem by the exercise of those peaceful and princely virtues which have procured for the rulers of other countries the venerable title of Fathers of their people.

"It was in the courts of Bagdad and Cufa, of Damascus and Cordova, that learning found a hospitable asylum, when a succession of barbarous inroads had nearly quenched the last rays of Greek and Roman literature, and scarcely left a single monument of art or genius in Europe. Nothing, except their own victories, is more surprising than the progress which this acute and ingenious people made in the cultivation of every department of human knowledge. From a state of ignorance and barbarism, in which they had been plunged for centuries, they emerged with a lustre not more remarkable for its brilliancy than for the gigantic height to which it rose. Nor can we account, except from the strength and versatility of their mental capacities, for this sudden blaze of genius which burst forth in every corner of their empire, and spread its influence as far as their arms extended. Many of the caliphs were protectors of learning. They lived surrounded with poets and orators, and assembled in their palaces men of the most distinguished acquirements from every quarter of the world. The name of Haroun-al-Raschid, the hero of the Thousand-and-one Nights, stands associated with those enchanting fictions which have made Bagdad a fairy-land, and will continue to diffuse a charm until taste and imagination shall become extinct.

“ Under his successors, learning of all kinds was cultivated and propagated with equal zeal. In every town, from the banks of the Tigris to the Atlantic, schools and colleges were established. The sun of science and philosophy diffused its humanizing influence over the fierce spirits and savage manners of Africa. A chain of academies stretched along the whole Mediterranean shore ; and in the cities of Cairo, Fez, and Morocco, the most magnificent buildings were appropriated to public instruction.

“ Spain was one of the most celebrated seats of Arabian learning. A vast number of eminent names in poetry, medicine, mathematics, and every department of study, adorned its annals even in the dreary night of the twelfth century. In its schools and libraries the sacred fires of Oriental knowledge continued to burn with more than their ancient splendour, when the rest of the world was sunk in Gothic ignorance.”—pp. 23—25.

How strange, indeed, and how awful appears to us even now the spectre and the phantom—for a spectre and a phantom it has become—of the Mohammedan power! Asia and Africa overrun—all Europe threatened—Spain occupied—and the Mohammedan general only defeated in the *centre of France* by what—if we were not believers in the superintending and ever-present interposition of God, which says to all error and all evil, “ Thus far, and no farther”—we should be inclined to call the fortunate combination of bravery and prudence in one individual, Charles Martel:—the halo of literature, and science, and art, and public splendour, and social refinement, encircling the Moslem creed; and, on the other side, the arms of Christendom baffled, the policy of Christendom overthrown, her potentates divided among themselves, and hating each other with a deadly hatred: her knowledge sunk and lost: her very religion disfigured by superstitions, debased by corruptions, weakened by the wretched disputes between the Greek and Latin Churches;—such was the spectacle presented; and surely it was enough to inspire the follower of Mohammed with a vaunting exultation, and almost fill the disciple of Jesus with a quailing despair.

And yet, at that very period, there was in the one faith a principle of indestructible vitality and perpetual growth; in the other, there was the seed of decay, and the element of dissolution. At that very period, the enormous fabric of Mohammedanism was like a pyramid placed upon its apex, ready to fall and crumble to pieces, not so much by its unwieldy weight, as by its false position. Its military successes declined; because fanaticism is a vehement flame, but not an abiding heat. Its literature and science dwindled away; because they had depended solely upon the personal character of successive caliphs, but were, in fact, rather repugnant than congenial to the system itself. The rottenness of the core soon began to show itself upon the surface;

and at this day all the members have the outward appearance of being sickly and unsound. In the meanwhile the leaven of faith worked in secret throughout the mass of Christendom. And although, in too many regions of Europe, Christianity is still corrupted, still disfigured, still debased; although in not one single region of Europe it is exerting a hundredth part of the influence which it might exert, and we trust is destined to exert, it is now working with an energy which gives us good hope that it will in time leaven the whole lump. It is securing old conquests and achieving new. It loses ground nowhere, it gains ground everywhere. There is no sea so remote, no shore so inhospitable, no tribe so savage, no climate so rude, but that it is visited, or will soon be visited, by men who bear the glad tidings of the Gospel: art, science, civilization, improvement, the decencies, and charities, and amenities, and even elegancies of life; the best charm of polished manners, the best sweets of domestic intercourse—all are in its train. The immediate good which Christianity is effecting for the human species would seem a thing of gigantic magnitude, if it were not lost in the future good which it may effect for every individual: and the temporal benefits which it diffuses in its path would seem of inestimable price, if they were not overshadowed and absorbed in its spiritual blessings.

How sublime, then, and how encouraging, and how consolatory, is the prospect. Were time and space allowed us, we might trace the finger of Providence making use of agents and instruments the most diversified and the most marvellous, turning to the fulfilment of its gracious designs the caprices of nations and the appetites of men. We might trace in the very ambition of Russia as it menaces Turkey with destruction or dismemberment, and in the occupation of Algiers and the surrounding territory by the French, and in the complete predominance of the British power in India, and in the very thirst for change and innovation by which the present sultan is distinguished, and the very love of European arts, and discipline, and usages, which his great rival, the viceroy of Egypt, has evinced, intelligible and unambiguous signs of the downfall of Mohammedanism, and the eventual rise of Christianity upon its ruins. Clouds and darkness may brood for the moment over our Church at home; but we may almost lose sight of them in contemplating the glories of our religion by degrees spreading and shining to their perfect day. When the whole theatre of earth is taken into one view, we have glimpses of the radiant truth, that "all things are working together for good;" all things conspiring to the triumphs of Christianity, until it shall become the universal religion of the human race!

Here we ought to stop; for we feel that we cannot revert to any other subject without a *bathos* of illimitable descent. But,

nevertheless, a sense of justice urges us to refer for an instant to a production, which has called forth from us expressions of some harshness and severity. Let us conclude, then, by saying, that Mr. Crichton's volumes, if we look at them by themselves, and could forget the preceding works out of which they have been compiled, would form a really interesting and really valuable publication; and, like all the other volumes of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, they are beautifully printed, very neatly bound, and embellished with engravings of considerable merit.

ART. VI.—1. *The Book of Jasher, with Testimonies and Notes, Critical and Historical, explanatory of the Text; to which is prefixed Various Readings, and a Preliminary Dissertation, proving the authenticity of the Work.* Translated into English from the Hebrew, by Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus, of Britain, Abbot of Canterbury, who went a Pilgrimage into the Holy Land and Persia, where he discovered this Volume in the City of Gazna. Bristol: printed for the Editor, by Philip Rose, 20, Broadmead; sold by Longman, London; Richardson, Bristol; and by all other booksellers. 1829.

2. *Prospectus.*—*To be Published by Subscription, The Book of Jasher, with Testimonies and Notes, Critical and Historical, explanatory of the Text, to which is prefixed, Various Readings, and a Preliminary Dissertation, proving the authenticity of the work. Translated into Anglo-Saxon from the Hebrew.* By Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus, of Britain, Abbot of Canterbury, who went a Pilgrimage into the Holy Land and Persia, where he discovered this Volume, in the City of Gazna. *Revised, Corrected and Edited by the Rev. C. R. Bond, formerly of Em. Coll. Cambridge.* William Henry Cox, 55, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

3. *Bibliographical Notes on the Book of Jasher.* By Thomas Hartwell Horne, B. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge; Rector of the united Parishes of St. Edmund the King, and St. Nicholas Acons, Lombard Street;\* Prebendary of St. Paul's; Author of the "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." London, printed by A. Spottiswoode, New Street Square. 1833.

EXCEPTING in two scanty references, one afforded by the miraculous stoppage of the Sun upon Gideon and of the Moon

\* We most cordially rejoice at seeing these new appendages to the name of Mr. Hartwell Horne. No man of our times has been more diligent or more useful in Biblical researches; and none has more justly earned a reward which has been bestowed upon him in a manner not less honourable to the Patron than to the Preferred.

in the Valley of Ajalon, the other in a notice of an Ordinance of David, prefixed to his Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, we hear nothing more in Scripture of the Book of Jasher. A wide field, therefore, has been opened for conjecture. Is Jasher (Jaser) a proper name? or are we to render the Hebrew word in its ordinary signification of *Just*? If the latter course be adopted, shall we call the Book the Book of the Just? or of the Just One? or of Justice? Is it to be considered a Chronicle of the Good and Wise? or a Work of authenticity and sincere faith? or a Legal Directory? Did it contain Annals, forming a kind of *Acta Publica* for the Jewish Commonwealth? Was it a portion of the writings which Josephus tells us were deposited in the Temple? or a *Spicilegium* of Psalms, Hymns, and Heroic Songs? Each of these explanations has been offered in turn; and, so far as we perceive, each is rested on an equally fanciful basis. Without sufficient data indeed whereon we may commence induction, hypothesis appears to be alike endless and fruitless.

But, if we give credit to the pretensions of the Volume the title of which stands first above, this obscure question is now fully resolved, and the Book of Jasher is not only distinctly ascertained to be the production of a Writer so named, but his very words have been discovered, and are here displayed.

“The following translation of ‘The Book of Jasher,’ was discovered by a gentleman in a journey through the North of England, in 1721. It lay by him for several years, until, in 1750, there was a rumour of a new translation of the Bible, when he laid it before a noble Earl. On perusal, he highly approved of it, as a work of great sincerity, plainness, and truth. His lordship’s opinion was, that it should have been placed in the Bible, before the Book of Joshua.

“He further adds, “By a writing on the outside of the manuscript, it should seem that this translation was laid before our first reformers, because it says, ‘I have read the Book of Jasher twice over, and I much approve of it, as a piece of great antiquity and curiosity; but I cannot assent that it should be made a part of the Canon of Scripture.

Signed,

WICKLIFFE.’”

“Since 1751, the manuscript has been preserved with great care by a gentleman who lived to a very advanced age, and died some time since. On the event of his death, a friend to whom he had presented it, gave it to the present Editor, who, conceiving that so valuable a piece of antiquity should not be lost to men of literature, and biblical students, has committed it to the press, not doubting but that the attention of the learned will be attracted to so singular a volume.

“The Editor cannot assert any thing from his own knowledge, beyond Alcuin’s account, but *that* carries with it such an air of probability and truth, that he does not doubt its authenticity. Some account of this volume may be found in Alcuin’s works, published in one volume,



folio, in the year 1600, in Paris. He died in 804. Should any gentleman possess a transcript, or copy of it, the Editor will be greatly obliged by any communication made to him, through the medium of the Printer."

Every thing here, to adopt a pictorial phrase, is in admirable keeping. The principal figure, Jasher himself, as we have already seen, is somewhat visionary, and especial care therefore has been taken not to overwhelm him by the subsidiary grouping. The itinerant discoverer, the noble Earl, the gentleman who lived to a very advanced age and died sometime since, the friend to whom he presented the inestimable MS., nay, even the present Editor of it, each and all, "come like shadows, so depart." If we know nothing of Jasher, we know quite as little of his accompaniments; and we have no reason to borrow the complaint of the Sailor, when looking at Lord Nelson's Monument, that there was "too much Lion and too little Jack"! The relative proportions of each are very honestly preserved, and neither Jack nor Lion can be accused of ostentatious predominance.

Perhaps from the very lack of a name, (for a name in these matters imports much,) the Bristol Speculation of 1829 appears to have failed. Some of the copies then printed were brought into the London market, and disposed of at the price of ten shillings each; and subsequently a vagabond mendicant, assuming the character of a necessitous clergyman, very largely circulated the Prospectus to which we have given the second place at the head of this article. The Conditions of the publication were as follows:—

1. This work shall be printed with beautiful type, on a fine wove paper; the size, Deny Quarto.

2. A list of subscribers shall be published, and the Copies delivered in the order in which they have been subscribed for.

3. The volume will be printed and delivered to the subscribers as soon as possible, being now in the Press.

4. *Noblemen and Gentlemen are respectfully requested to pay the subscription, £1., in advance."*

We need not dwell upon the importance of the last of the above Conditions, (the Italics in which it is printed are our own,) but it is only just to add, that whenever the *Circulator* (it is indifferent whether this word be received in its English or in its Latin sense) observed any reluctance in those whom he addressed to disburse a solid pound, he was prepared to unloose his packet, and to sell them his pennyworth of *Bristol diamonds* for half the sum; and thus several of the ten shilling copies were purchased by the simple, the charitable, the good-natured, or the careless.

It will be perceived that no longer *stat nominis umbra*. The

Editor has lifted his mask and stands revealed—whether for the advantage of the publication may be doubtful. We will not pronounce respecting identity; but we certainly do remember, nearly a score of years since, a solicitor of subscriptions in order to restore a Nova Scotia Baronet and Bricklayer to his hereditary title and estates, who bore a similar name; and we have seen in the late Dr. Adam Clarke's Autobiography some notices of a Mr. C. R. Bond, who is described to have been "a sort of half-boarder and assistant-English-teacher" at the Kingswood School founded by Wesley. "Mr. Bond," continues Clarke, "was a young man of little experience and shallow in talents;" and then, after adding that his "highest ambition seemed to be to reach the exalted place and character of a clergyman," he takes leave of him by saying that "no man can do justice to the life of Mr. Bond but himself. It has been indeed *various* and *chequered*: he is probably still living, but I know not what is become of him."\*

The prefix Reverend, and the suffix laying claim to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, we shall, in courtesy, pass by undisputed; and we proceed to notice a few slight variations between the Advertisement to the Bristol Edition of the Book of Jasher and the Prospectus of its reprint. In the latter, the Traveller in the North of England is said to have retained his copy, not till "there was a rumour of a new translation of the Bible," and then to have "laid it before a noble Earl;" but in order to impart greater vitality to the narrative, the anonymous Peer is changed into a substantial Synod of Ecclesiastics.

"It lay by me for several years, until, in 1750, there was a plan formed for a new translation of the Holy Scriptures in the University of Oxford, by Dr. *Blaney*, and other eminent Divines. This volume was then *translated into modern English* for their judgment, and, on perusal, was highly approved as a Work of great sincerity, plainness and truth. *Their* opinion was that it should have been placed in the Bible before the Book of Joshua."

Dr. Blayney, (not *Blaney*, as the name is printed by Mr. Bond,) the learned and well-known Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, was employed during the greater part of his life in Biblical Criticisms, and he suggested and published numerous corrections of the existing version of the Scriptures. It is not improbable, therefore, that he began to collect materials for his favourite pursuit in early youth. But since he did not graduate as M. A. till 1753, he must have manifested a precocity almost sufficient to ensure his classification with Crichton and Barretier, if three years before that date, he ranked as

\* *Life of Dr. Adam Clarke*, vol. i, pp. 160, 161.

“an eminent Divine,” and was engaged to assist in a new translation of the Bible.

Furthermore, however, since the value of precision has been discovered by Mr. Bond, we are presented with another name, by which the links in the chain of evidence may be indissolubly strengthened. Instead of the unspecified longevous gentleman who preserved the manuscript, we are told that

“Since 1751 the copy has been preserved with great care by the Reverend William Pownall, brother to Mr. Pownall, many years Master of the School in the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, who lived to a very advanced age, and died some time since. On the event of his death, it came into the possession of the friend of Mr. Pownall, the present Editor, who conceiving,” &c.

Not the least marvellous assertion contained in this Prospectus remains for its concluding paragraph.

“The first Editor has been honoured with the Autographs of nearly one thousand of the *most literary characters* as subscribers, among whom are many *Prelates and other Dignitaries*, as well as most of the public Establishments of the Country. A second Edition is now called for, and it is hoped the noble and literary characters of the Kingdom will honour this *most ancient and most precious work* with their patronage. Those who may not desire the possession of it, *may aid the publication by their liberal donations.*”

*Sunt qui non habeant : est qui non curat habere.*

Some precaution, however, might now be thought necessary ; for, from a letter addressed to an Irish Periodical, *The Christian Examiner*, in March, 1831, it appeared that Mr. Bond was not the only possessor of the Book of Jasher. A Jew in Liverpool, (neither a sort of person nor of town likely to be behind Bristol or Mr. Bond in any promising mercantile adventure,) had announced his intention of bringing it before the Public, and a very simple-hearted clergyman, who signs himself “Vicar of Donagh,” acquaints the Editor of the Magazine with his own good fortune in having obtained sight of a copy of this same “*curious piece of antiquity.*” During the Irish Rebellion, says this undoubting Vicar, “the Rev. Robert Alexander, D. D., a Divine of high character in his profession, and a scholar of the first rate,” was compelled to take refuge in Pembroke.

“When there, in great privacy, and not a little crippled in his resources, he was visited by a clergyman whose name I regret exceedingly I have forgotten, and from a congenial feeling of taste in literature, profession, and general sentiment, no small degree of friendship arose between them. It occurred one afternoon in their conversation on Scriptural subjects, in which they both took great delight, and were well competent to discuss, that the Book of Jasher was mentioned by Dr. Alex-

ander, deploring its loss, and expressing his regrets that no trace (except the incidental allusion to it, *Josh. x. 13*, and *2 Sam. xviii.*) could be had of a book sufficiently important to be alluded to by inspired writers. The Welsh Clergyman then informed him that he was in possession of a rare Copy of the Work, that he considered it unique, and held it of the highest value; adding as a very special favour, and one which he had invariably refused, that he would permit Dr. A. to take a copy, but with the strictest injunctions that his permission would rest there, and that its publicity should not under any circumstances take place."

"In the year 1806, having been on a visit in New Ross, where Dr. Alexander resided, I was favoured by his permission to see this curious piece of antiquity, and earnestly requested to be allowed to copy it. This, however, he would by no means grant; but told me that if I chose to copy the Preface alone, it was at my service; and that I must do so in his library, lest the temptation to transcribe the whole *would* be too inviting for me to resist: and that he owed it to his friend, and the promise he had exacted, not even to go so far: yet he was willing to do so merely to oblige me: but even after I had copied the Preface, as if some mystery was destined to adhere to the work, the good doctor wrote to me requesting I would destroy it. To this I replied to my worthy friend that he might rest assured no unbecoming use would be made of his indulgence, which sufficiently quieted his anxiety for the time. The doctor has long since paid the debt of nature."\*

The Vicar of Donagh then continues by printing the narrative of Alcuin, to which allusion has been made in the *advertisement* of the Bristol edition, with a slight variation (the cause of which we shall presently explain) from its substance in those pages. From those pages, however, we shall extract it below verbatim. It is long, but as it is a most important document, we must transcribe it without abridgment.

*"The words of Alcuin, which are to be read before the Book of Jasher.*

"I, Alcuin of Britain, was minded to travel into the Holy Land, and into the province of Persia, in search of holy things, and to see the wonders of the east. And I took unto me two companions, who learned with me, under able teachers and masters, all those languages which the people of the east speak; namely, Thomas of Malmesbury, and John of Huntingdon: and though we went as pilgrims, yet we took with us silver, and gold, and riches. And when we came unto Bristol, we went into a ship bound for Rome, where we tarried six months, and learned more perfectly the old Persic language. Here the Pope blessed us, and said, Be of resolution, for the work ye have undertaken is of the Lord. From Rome we went to Naples, and tarried there three days, and from thence to Salerno, and from thence to Palermo. We went through Sicily, and took Melita in our way, where we abode six days. Hence we sailed for the Morea, visited Athens, Thessalonica, Constantinople,

\* *The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine*, vol. xi. (for 1831) p. 191.

Philadelphia, Pergamus, Smyrna, Ephesus, Antioch, Coloss, Cappadocia, Alexandria, Damascus, Samaria, Bethel, and Jerusalem. Here we stayed six weeks, and the patriarch John received us kindly. And after having visited every part of the Holy Land, particularly Bethlehem, Hebron, Mount Sinai, and the like, we crossed an arm of the Persic Gulph at Bassora, and went in a boat to Bagdad, and from thence by land to Ardevil, and so to Casbin. Here we learnt from an Ascetic, that at the furthestmost part of Persia, in the city of Gazna, was a manuscript, wrote in Hebrew, of *The Book of Jasher*. He stimulated us to this undertaking, by observing, that *The Book of Jasher* was twice mentioned in the *Holy Bible*, and twice appealed to as a book of Testimony, and that it was extant before the writings which are now stiled, *The Books of Moses*. We immediately undertook the journey, going by the way of Ispahan, where we tarried three weeks; at length we arrived at Gazna. Here we laid aside the pilgrims' dress, and I hired a house, where we dwelt during our stay in this city, which was about three years.

"I soon became acquainted with the keeper of the library which belongs to the community of this city, and inquired of him concerning *The Book of Jasher*, which the recluse at Casbin had told us of. He said, he had read of such a manuscript in the catalogue of the library, but had never seen it, though he had been custos for forty-five years, but that it was locked up in a chest, and kept among the pieces of antiquities in a separate part of the library. As I lived nigh the custos, so I soon became familiar in his family; wherefore one day I took the opportunity to tell the custos, that I was very much obliged to him for the civilities he had shown me, and particularly for the free access he had given me to the library; at the same time I made him a present of a wedge of gold, in value fifty pounds, which he readily accepted. The next time I went to the library, I begged the favour I might see *The Book of Jasher*. He then immediately turned to the catalogue, where it was written, *The Volume of Jasher*. He conducted me into a long room, where he showed me the chest it was in. He now informed me, that the key was in the hands of the city-treasurer, and that, upon proper application, I might see the volume. The custos introduced me to the treasurer, and related to him the substance of my request. He smiled, and said, he was not then at leisure, but he would consider of it. The next morning I sent John of Huntingdon to the treasurer with a wedge of gold of the value of one hundred pounds, by way of a present. By John he sent me word, that he would meet me at the library about the ninth hour.

"The time being come, the treasurer, the custos, and I, met at the library, when the treasurer having unlocked the chest, showed me the book, which he called, *The Volume of Jasher*. And then he locked the chest, and gave the key to the custos, telling him, that it was permitted that I might read in the volume, as often as I would, in the presence of the custos, and in the library.

"*The Book of Jasher* is a great scroll, in width two feet three inches, and in length about nine feet. It is written in large characters, and exceeding beautiful. The paper on which it is written is for thickness

the eighth of an inch. To the touch it seemed as soft as velvet, and to the eye as white as snow.

“The ark is of Mosaic work, finely and curiously wrought, but time and accidents have very much defaced the external ornaments of it.

“After this I had free access to *The Book of Jasher*. The first thing which commanded my attention was a little scroll, intitled, *The story of the Volume of Jasher*. This informed me, that Jasher was born in Goshen, in the land of Egypt; that he was the son of the mighty Caleb, who was general of the Hebrews, whilst Moses was with Jethro in Midian; that on the embassy to Pharaoh, Jasher was appointed virger to Moses and Aaron, to bear the rod before them; that as he always accompanied Moses, Jasher must have had the greatest opportunities of knowing the facts he hath recorded; that from his great attachment to truth and uprightness, he early received his name, *יָשָׁר*; that it was a common saying in Israel of him, *Behold the upright man*; that Jasher wrote the volume which bears his name; that the ark was made in his life-time; that he put the volume therein with his own hands; that Jazer, the eldest son of Jasher, kept it during his life; that the princes of Judah successively were custoes thereof; that the ark and book in the last Babylonish Captivity was taken from the Jews, and so fell into the hands of the Persian monarchs; and that the city of Gazna had been the place of its residence for some hundred years.

“This excited in me a desire of reading the volume itself. The work was divided into thirty-seven parts or portions. One of these portions I read at this time, and so two every day until I had read the whole through. The custos then informed me, that there were in the two side boxes of the chest, certain notes or remarks, which some of the ancients had made on several passages contained in *The Book of Jasher*. These also I read.

“I had now conceived a great desire of returning to England, with a transcript of *The Book of Jasher*, and of the Notes. Hereupon, I and my companions petitioned the commonalty of the city, that we might have the liberty of taking a transcript thereof. Here we were opposed by the treasurer, and our petition was rejected. Some months after this, it came into my mind, that we would petition to have leave to make an English translation of the said Book and Notes. Accordingly, one morning, having drawn up the petition, I sent John of Huntingdon with it, and a wedge of gold to the treasurer, with a letter desiring his opinion of it. After some days, I received for answer, that he had considered of my request, and would shortly relate the affair to the recorder of the city, and take his opinion thereon. Upon this, I despatched Thomas of Malmsbury with a wedge of gold, as a present to the recorder, together with a copy of the petition I had sent the treasurer. A few days after this, I received directions from the recorder, to attend the next court, and then our petition was granted. The order of court ran thus: ‘We grant unto Alcuin, and his two assistants, full liberty and power of translating out of the original Hebrew, *The Volume of Jasher*, with the Notes appertaining thereto, now contained in a chest in the public library of Gazna, into English, and into no other language whatever.

And we likewise order that the said English translation be made in the library, and in the presence of the custos, at such times of the day as shall be most convenient to the said custos.’

“ We soon began the translation in this manner: The manuscript was laid on a table, round which the custos and we sat. The custos opened the volume, and we read the first part or portion, and were permitted to set it down in the original; from whence we made each a translation, and then the custos burnt the part we had so transcribed. And this was the manner in which we proceeded, but the custos would not suffer us to carry home any of our papers.

“ In fine, after the labour of near a year and six months, we completed the translation of the Book and Notes, to which translation this is prefixed. The treasurer and custos burnt all other papers wrote by either of us, and took from us the translation we had made.

“ In this dilemma we remained for some time, till, by a proper application, and by petitioning the court a second time, after having been solemnly sworn, that we had taken no other copy, nor were possessed of any other papers, besides that translation of *The Volume of Jasher*, then before the court, the translation was delivered to us, with a charge, that we should not let any person take a copy thereof in any place we passed through in our return to England; which we solemnly promised; and then we were dismissed, with proper credentials for our return through Persia.

“ We now re-assumed the pilgrims’ dress, and after a stay of almost three years, left Gazna, and came to Ispahan, from thence to Casbin, and so back to Rome. Here we stayed some time, and I had an audience of the Pope, when I related to his Holiness, that I had seen *The Book of Jasher*, spoken of in *Joshua*, and in the *Second Book of Samuel*. The holy father, who was now ninety-five years of age, turned to the places I referred to, and then cried out, *I have lived to the days of forgetfulness.*

“ After a short stay at Rome, we sailed for England, and landed at Bristol, after we had been absent seven years.”—*The Book of Jasher*, pp. viii.—xi.

Upon the above statement we must, in passing, offer a few remarks. Alcuin was originally Librarian to Egbert, Archbishop of York; and from his early and intimate acquaintance with the noble Library of Books collected by that munificent Prelate, their custos became the most profound Bibliognostic of the VIIIth century. Of his private history, during his abode in England, very little can be positively asserted; but he is *supposed* to have attained the dignity of Abbot of Canterbury. His subsequent life is fully displayed and illustrated by his own Letters and other writings. Having been employed by Offa, King of Mercia, in an embassy to Charlemagne, he so far attracted the esteem of that great Prince, by his extraordinary abilities and attainments, as to receive the honourable title of *Delicia Imperatoris*. By offers of splendid establishment, the Emperor induced

him to settle in the French Court, where he presided over an Academy instituted in the Palace; instructed the monarch himself in Rhetoric, Logic, Mathematics and Divinity; was greatly distinguished at the Councils of Frankfort and of Aix-la-Chapelle, by a successful opposition to certain Heretical opinions propounded by Felix, Bishop of Urgella in Catalonia; and contributed to the foundation or the enlargement of the Universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden and Soissons. It was not without much difficulty that he obtained Charlemagne's permission to pass his declining years in retirement, at the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, which the Imperial patronage had bestowed upon him; and the administration of which he ultimately deputed to a brother recluse. In that abode, he was chiefly occupied in correcting and transcribing the Scriptures; and numerous MSS., either written by his own hand or under his immediate inspection, became spread abroad to the great benefit of Religion. Baronius mentions, with especial delight, a noble copy of the Bible, supposed to be in the penmanship of Alcuin himself for the Cabinet of Charlemagne, which was preserved in his time (and may still be preserved) in the Library of the Monks of San Filippo de Neri at Rome.

When Alcuin "left the Court" of Charlemagne, and "returned to England, he was further promoted to be Abbot of Canterbury," says the learned and veracious Editor of the *Book of Jasher*, in his Preliminary Dissertation on its antiquity and authenticity. Now if ever Alcuin was in truth Abbot of Canterbury, it was, as scarcely a doubt can exist, *before* he attached himself to Charlemagne. For although it is ascertained that he passed nearly three years in England, between A.D. 790 and A.D. 793, on a diplomatic mission, it is little likely that he would *then* have accepted promotion from Offa, unless he had also designed to make a permanent residence in his native Country. It is far more probable that he was never at all connected with the Church of Canterbury, at least as its Abbot; for he would scarcely have been tempted in the first instance to abandon so high and honourable a charge. We suspect therefore that a confusion has arisen from a similarity of names between himself and a former Abbot. Alcuin's Saxon name was Alewin; which, for the sake of euphony, he Latinized first into Alcuinus, and afterwards into Albinus, accompanying it with the classical prefix Flaccus. Hence he may have been confounded with another Albinus, who is known to have presided at Canterbury sometime earlier.

The Works of Alcuin were first collected by Duchesne, and published at Paris, not as the Editor of the *Book of Jasher* (who clearly never saw the volume) asserts, in 1600, but in 1617. But



there is a later and fuller Edition superintended by M. Froben of St. Emmerande at Ratisbon, which appeared in 1777. Both these impressions contain, besides the very numerous acknowledged writings of Alcuin, the supposititious Works which have been attributed to him, together with such notices as can be obtained of his *deperdita*; and not any where, in any one of the three above-named classes, is any passage to be found which records either his Oriental travels or the discovery of the *Book of Jasher*. His Correspondence is most voluminous; consisting of 232 Letters, many of them addressed to Charlemagne, and detailing very ample particulars of his literary occupations. Moreover, we possess three separate Lives of this great Scholar; in which are transmitted to us not only the credible and ordinary portions of his history, but such *addenda* also of marvels as were thought requisite for the fame of one who had received canonization. We read therein of miracles which he worked both before and after his death, and of a bodily conflict which he maintained with the Prince of the Power of Darkness, who on one occasion visibly beset him in the seclusion of his Study, and sought to divert him from Book-learning. It is not likely therefore that so important a transaction as his journey to the Holy Land, if it had ever occurred, would have been omitted by his professed Biographers; or that the discovery of a MS., the translation of which into English he considered worthy of so much time, labour, and money, as he is said to have expended upon it, should never be even incidentally alluded to by himself.

It so happens also that among his *Poems* (if we may give that title to the bald Latin and false quantities which he endeavoured to arrange according to a metrical appearance) are several epigraphs for MSS. of the Scripture; some of which contain an enumeration of the received Canonical Books. Is it not probable that *Jasher*, even if not at once boldly inserted by its Discoverer, would have found at least some occasional notice in the body of these compositions? Alcuin must have been proud of his exploit; and, unless he believed in the authenticity of the original document, he would scarcely have troubled himself with the pain and toil of its translation. Nevertheless, with so many fair opportunities before him of embalming his feat in verse, he is wholly silent concerning it: an act of abstinence and mortification which, if it had been really perpetrated, might rank him with justice as the most *Heautontimorumenos* of Ascetics. As our readers may be curious to see a specimen of Alcuin's verse, and as the following reputed Hexameters are not without some Mnemonic recommendation, we venture to subjoin them.

“ *In Sacrum Codicem curâ Radonis Abbatis Monasterii S. Vedasti scriptum.*

*In hoc Quinque Libri retinentur Codice Mosis,  
Bella Ducis Josue, Seniorum et tempora Patrum.  
Ruth, Job, et Regum bis bini namque Libelli;  
Atque Prophetarum Sancti bis octo Libelli;  
Carmina præclari Christi Patris Hymnica David,*

*Et tria pacifici Salamonis Opusculu Regis.  
Jungitur his Sophiæ Jesu simul atque Libellus,  
Et Paralipomenis cuim duo nempe Libelli.*

*Hinc Ezræ, Nehemiæ, Hesther, Judith atque Libelli,  
Et duo namque Libri Machabæa bella tenentes.*

*Matthæi et Marci, Lucæ Liber atque Johannis,  
Inclyta gesta tenens Salvantis Sæcula Christi.*

*Sanctus Apostolicos Lucas conscripserat Actus.*

*Bis septem Sancti per chartas dogmata Pauli,*

*Jacobi, Petri, Judæ, et pia dicta Johannis.*

*Scribitur extremo Johannis in ordine Tomus.*

*Hos lege, tu Lector, felix, feliciter, omnes,*

*Ad laudem Christi, propriamque in secla salutem.—*

*Opera, Tom. ii. p. 205.*

Some apology may be thought necessary for continuing to expend our blows upon a mere Phantom—*nube cavâ, et tennem sine viribus umbram*—or we would otherwise ask the exact position of that City, the *El Dorado* of Biblical Literature, in the “furthermost part of Persia,” Gazna, which, we believe, exists in truth in Cabul. We would observe also that the only Patriarch of Jerusalem who filled the Holy Seat during the VIIIth and the early part of the IXth centuries, under the name of John, was John V.; whose rule occupied the seven years between A. D. 795 and A. D. 802. Here then we obtain a fixed season for Alcuin’s pretended visit to Jerusalem. It must have occurred during some portion of those seven years, because we are told that “the Patriarch *John* received him kindly.” Yet it may be shown from many parts of Alcuin’s writings that after his return from England in A. D. 793, he never quitted the French dominions;\* that in A. D. 796, he took possession of his Abbey at Tours; that in A. D. 798, he excused himself, on account of infirmity, from accompanying Charlemagne in a journey to Rome; and that, about the same time, he was either writing or speaking against the false doctrine of the adoptive filiation of ‘The Son promulgated by the Bishop of Urgella. His embarkation from and return to Bristol, (the

\* Il en revint au bout de trois ans, à la fin de l’année 792, ou au commencement de la suivante. Alcuin de retour en France n’en sortit plus dans la suite. Hist. Lit. de France, tom. iv. p. 297, where very copious authorities are cited.

fortunate spot at which he was to reappear in the XIXth century,) his entertainment by the Patriarch John, and his seven years' Oriental voyaging, are therefore altogether *mistakes*.

One word more relative to this most clumsy part of the forgery. The only Pope during the above period was Leo III., who died in A.D. 816; that is, twelve years after the demise of Alcuin, and who was already "ninety-five years of age" at the time of Alcuin's visit. Even admitting therefore that their interview occurred at the very close of that great man's life, Leo must have survived to the extraordinary age of one hundred and seven years (an age never yet attained by any Pope or Kaiser) without leaving any Historical memorial of that remarkable longevity!

These anachronisms may be thought sufficient to overthrow the tale; and another is adduced by a correspondent of the *Christian Examiner*, in May, 1831, who shows that "we are required to believe that Alcuin, who lived and flourished in the days of Charlemagne, and died in 804, was educated in the University of Oxford, founded by Alfred in 886." Upon a question, however, sunk in such utter obscurity as envelops that of the date of the foundation of Oxford, we are very far from being prepared to pass judgment; and if *that* were the only contradiction in the narrative, we would take the word of Alcuin for his own schooling. More fatal objections are proposed afterwards by the same writer.

"I need scarcely object to the story of Alcuin, who spent his life at the Court of Charlemagne, or in the monastery of Tours, founded under the patronage of that Monarch, and who there closed his eyes in peace and honour, having performed an unrecorded journey in the East, in the habit of a pilgrim, carrying, however, ingots of gold and silver, and riches concealed, I suppose, in his knapsack! Nor of the improbability that the Court of Rome, so jealous at all times of its prerogatives, should have suffered such a work to pass its gates. Nor of the total want of consistency in Alcuin, the learned collector and liberal distributor of knowledge, committing the precious MS. to the care of an unknown Yorkshire clergyman, rather than to the College at York, where, in fact, he did receive his education; or to the Library of his own Monastery at Tours; or, as your ingenious correspondent would possibly suggest, to the Bodleian Library, Oxford."\*

Another Letter, signed H. H. M., appears in the same publication in the following June, to which we shall more fully refer when we come to speak of the contents of the pseudo-Jasher. It is followed by a communication bearing the signature *Bibliographicus*, and dated London, referring to the second Edition of Mr. Hartwell Horne's *Introduction*, (vol. ii. Appendix, p. 123,)

\* *Christian Examiner*, vol. xi. p. 348.

for a key which unlocks the secret of the imposture. The fraud: as Mr. Horne there shows, has been long since exploded and traced home to its author; so long, indeed, that the present frontless reviver of it has no doubt indulged a hope that its former detection may have been wholly forgotten. More than eighty years have elapsed since the first appearance of the *Book of Jasher*; just seventy since the grave closed over the head of its inventor.

One Jacob Ilive, a Printer and Letter-founder, is the original forger; and the following account of his process is given by Mr. Edward Rowe-Mores, in his rare and singular *Dissertation on Typographical Founders and Founderies*, (p. 64,) which may be found cited in a Work of more common occurrence, Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes of the XVIIIth Century*, (vol. i. p. 309.)

“ In 1751 Mr. Ilive published a pretended translation of the *Book of Jasher*, said to have been made by one Alcuin of Britain. The account given of the translation is full of glaring absurdities; but of the publication this we can say, from the information of the only one who is capable of informing us, because the business was a secret between the two, Mr. Ilive in the night-time had constantly a Hebrew Bible before him (*sed qu. de hoc*) and cases in his closet. He produced the copy for *Jasher*, and it was composed and printed, and the same worked off in the night-time in a private press-room.”

Without further proof than we possess, or, indeed, than can now be obtained, it may be unjust to express a suspicion that Rowe-Mores, who was a strange fellow, was *particeps criminis*; and that he himself was the “only person” admitted into the secret, which he afterwards betrayed. But, on his own showing, he had been previously connected with Ilive; who had employed him, when he was an Undergraduate of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1746, to assist in correcting an Edition of Calasius's Concordance.

The title-page of Ilive's volume differs very slightly from that of the Bristol reprint. The former does not contain any notice of a Preliminary Dissertation. It is shorter than its antitype in its mention of Alcuin: “translated into English by Alcuin of Britain, who went a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land,” and instead of the bare extracts from *Joshua* and *2 Samuel* it contains the following paragraph: “This Book is twice mentioned in Holy Scripture, viz. in *Josh. x. 13*, and in *2 Sam. i. 18*, in both which places it is appealed to as a Work of credit and reputation, and as such was at that time had in great esteem.” Mr. Horne has pointed to the sedulous care with which Mr. Bond (who, it will be remembered, at one period of his “various and chequered life” was a *teacher of English*!) has preserved the idiom of his predecessor, “to which is prefixed Various Readings;” and he has

noted similar coincidences of style in the Body of the Work: "thus *hath* said our Fathers"—"thou *judgeth* the people"—"whom thou *knoweth* not"—"whom thou *doth* not worship"—and "thou *hath* spoken."

A doubt might exist, *primâ facie*, relative to the publication of Ilive's Volume. Its title-page bears no more than, "*printed* in the year 1751," and a pencil note (either by some Bookseller or some collector to whom it has formerly belonged) written on the margin of the copy now lying before us, describes it as "*privately printed, and very rare.*" But Mr. Horne has produced a criticism from the *Monthly Review* of December, 1751, (vol. v. p. 230), which establishes the point beyond dispute. The Reviewer justly describes the Work as "a palpable piece of contrivance intended to impose upon the credulous and the ignorant, to sap the credit of the Books of Moses, and to blacken the character of Moses himself." The narrative of Alcuin is spoken of in like manner, as "an idle story"—"full of blunders, inconsistencies and absurdities."

Mr. Bond's Advertisement, which we have already cited, is founded, as the reader cannot fail to perceive, on the following Prefatory Letter in the original impression:

"To the Right Honourable the Earl of \* \* \* \* \*.

"My Lord,

"The following translation of *The Book of Jasher* fell into my hands thirty years ago by mere accident. I was travelling in the North of England, to see the country; and coming into a little town, where I intended to lodge that night, my landlord informed me, that the goods and books of an old gentlewoman, lately deceased, who was upwards of one hundred years of age, the daughter of a clergyman, were that evening to be sold by auction.

"I went to the sale, where were assembled a parcel of rustics, two or three gentlemen, and as many clergymen. The auctioneer, who was the parish clerk, had prepared no catalogues, so every one looked of (?) the book to be sold as it was handed about. I bought largely, and at length the gentlemen and the clergymen, perceiving they had no share in the auction, withdrew. The auctioneer, in haste to make an end, put up all the pamphlets, manuscripts, and sermons in four bundles. These I purchased, and then I ordered the whole to be sent immediately to my inn; and before I left the town, I packed the books, manuscripts, pamphlets and sermons up, and sent them to my own home.

"Among these papers, my Lord, I found the following translation of *The Book of Jasher*, which I last summer communicated to your Lordship on a rumour of a new translation of the Bible. I own that till then it lay by me quite unregarded. Your Lordship on perusal was pleased to approve of it, and to advise its publication as a book of great sincerity, plainness, and truth.

“Your Lordship’s remark I must not here omit, ‘that it was your opinion *The Book of Jasher* ought to have been printed in the Bible before that of *Joshua*.’”

Then follows the testimony of Wickliffe, which we have already noticed. The letter is signed “The Editor,” and dated Nov. 25, 1751.

At the end of Alcuin’s narrative, I have inserted the following paragraph, which Mr. Bond has thought it discreet to omit: “Some years after my arrival I related the adventure to several, and showed them the Work, who advised me not to suffer a copy of it to fall into the hands of the *Stationers*, lest I should incur the displeasure of the Purple. Being now grown old and infirm, I have left it among other papers to a Clergyman in Yorkshire.” The “Stationers” appear to have been too hard for Mr. Bond’s digestion. The Latin *Stationarius* is a word originally employed for the *milites stativi*, or such as were posted in *stationes*, the garrisons which occupied conquered towns; at a later date, it was used to signify scribes or notaries, *συμβολαιογράφοι* or *tabelliones*, who waited at *fixed* spots with apparatus prepared for writing. In the Lower Empire, Postmasters appear also to have been called *Stationarii*. Mr. Horne states from Ducange that Stationers (we suppose Ducange means as Booksellers) were unknown in Europe before the middle of the XIIIth Century; and we may add, that even at that time (provided we admit with Conring that the Law regulating the Physicians of Salerno was promulgated by the Emperor Frederic II.) the proprietors of *stationes* or Apothecaries’ shops were more generally intended by the title *Stationarii*.

One lapse into which Mr. Bond permitted himself to fall in his first impression, and of which I live, in whose steps he was following, appears to have been wholly unconscious, is the absurdity of making Alcuin, all whose extant Works are written in Latin, express himself in modern English. “If he had composed any treatise in any other language,” says Mr. Horne, “it would doubtless have been in the then vernacular language of England, that is, the Anglo-Saxon.” Between the publication at Bristol and the issuing of the Prospectus, this anomaly occurred or was suggested to Mr. Bond; and he endeavours to remedy it, as we have seen in his Prospectus, by stating that the Work was translated from the Anglo-Saxon, for the inspection of the Oxford Divines in 1750. But by whom, it may reasonably be asked, was this translation effected? Anglo-Saxon scholarship is not a fruit to be gathered from every bush; and the portion of it requisite for a task of so great extent, would have entitled its owner to some

remembrance. The translator, although it is not so "written in the *Bond*," must have supplied also the convenient divisions into chapters; for it is not likely that Alcuin, in the VIIIth century, would anticipate an invention not introduced till the XIIIth by Cardinal Hugo.

The *Book of Jasher* itself appears to have been constructed in part from apocryphal writings of the Rabbis; in part from a cento of various scraps stolen from the Pentateuch; and in the remainder from the crazy imaginings of the author himself. The first chapter may be taken as an average specimen of the whole.

" CHAP. I.

" 1 *The formation of the world. 3 the light shineth. 7 the earth is productive. 11 the creation of man. 13 the birth of Cain and Abel. 17 of Enoch. 23 the death of Adam.*

" 1 WHILST it was the beginning, darkness overspread the face of nature.

2 And the ether moved upon the surface of the chaos.

3 And it came to pass, that a great light shone forth from the firmament, and enlightened the abyss.

4 And the abyss fled before the face of the light, and divided between the light and darkness.

5 So that the face of nature formed a second time.

6 And behold there appeared in the firmament two great lights: the one to rule the light, and the other to rule the darkness.

7 And the ground brought forth grass: the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree after his kind.

8 And every beast after his kind: and every thing that creepeth, after their kind.

9 And the waters brought forth the moving creatures, after their kind.

10 And the ether brought forth every winged fowl, after his kind.

11 ¶ And when all these things were fulfilled, behold Jehovah appeared in Eden, and created man, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.

12 And to him was given power and lordship over all living creatures, and over every herb, and over every tree of the field.

13 And it came to pass, in process of time, that the man begat Cain: and he also begat his brother Abel.

14 And Cain was the first man who tilled the ground:

15 And Abel was a feeder of sheep.

16 And Cain went out and dwelt on the east of Eden, in the land of Nod.

17 And Cain begat Enoch; then did men begin to build cities.

18 And unto Lamech was born Jabal: he was the first who taught men to build tents.

19 And unto Lamech also was born Tubal-Cain: he was the first who wrought in brass and iron, and who builded up the harp and the organ.

20 And Seth begat Enos: then began men by name to call on the Lord.

21 And all the days of the life of Adam, there was rest, and peace, and quiet, unto all men.

22 For they listened unto all things, concerning which he spake unto them.

23 And Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years, and he died."

The period to which it relates extends from the Creation to the close of the rule of Jasher, who, after having been virger or rod-bearer to Moses, judged Israel, after his father Caleb, in A. M. 2600. Moses is described as "learned in all the magic of the Egyptians." By a slip of that faculty which, in a writer of Ilive's description ought to be especially tenacious, the tribute demanded by Pharaoh from the Israelites, which in the fourth chapter is calculated as a *tenth* part of the increase of their lands, (v. 19,) in the sixth, (v. 7,) becomes doubled to a *fifth*. The Passage of the Red Sea, (so far as we understand the account, which is greatly mystified,) is attributed to a natural recess of the tide. The miraculous supply of water in Horeb is not mentioned at all; and instead of the sweetening of the fountain at Marah by a tree which the Lord showed his Prophet, we are presented with the discovery of a fresh spring by the sagacity of Miriam—a lady always mentioned with peculiar complacency, and occasionally, indeed, to the disparagement of her brother. Most of the statutes and ordinances which the genuine Scriptures ascribe to the dictation of God himself, are here made to proceed from the advice of Jethro, who delivers a sort of Parody on the Decalogue. His suggestions are opposed by Miriam, who well nigh occasions a sedition, which is prevented only by her temporary imprisonment. Instead of the anger of the Lord being kindled against her mischievous interference, so that she is smitten with leprosy for her transgression, at her death it is pronounced that there "arose up no one like unto her of the daughters of Jacob; no, not even unto this day."—(Ch. xv. v. 16.) When Korah, Dathan and Abiram rebel, *the ground does not cleave asunder under them, neither doth the earth open her mouth and swallow them up, so that they go down alive into the pit; nor doth a fire come out from the Lord and consume the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense; but they die a much more common death; and (if we may so speak, without an undue appearance of levity,) in consequence of the issue by Moses of a Writ de Hæretico comburendo.*

"12 And Moses commanded the Levites, saying: Up now, slay Korah, Dathan and Abiram, with those that are with them, with fire, even as the Lord hath spoken unto me.

"13 And Korah, Dathan and Abiram, [with the two hundred and



fifty men of the children of Israel, perished by fire before the door of the tabernacle of the Lord."—(Chap. xxi.)

The contumelious epithet applied to Rahab in the Book of *Joshua* is purged away by her transformation into "one of the Princesses of Jericho," and a woman eminent for wisdom." She is represented as favouring the invaders on account of her extraction; her mother, a woman of Midian, having borne her to an Israelitish father: and the aspersions on her character arise only from some idle words of the King of Jericho, who stigmatised her pacific advice as "the counsel of a harlot."—(Ch. xxvii.)

The Passage of the deep and rapid Jordan (a miracle described in the Book of *Joshua* with a minuteness of detail which might appear to defy any sceptical resolution of it,) is effected in the *Book of Jasher* by the ordinary expedient of a Bridge; for in no other way can we interpret the following words.

"10 And the wood, whereon the children of Israel passed over Jordan, stayed upon the face of the waters six days and six nights."—(Ch. xxviii.)

Such being the exact length of time occupied by the passage of the whole congregation, "they, their wives, their children, their cattle, even all their possessions." And more especially, that signal arrest of the course of Nature for the record of which appeal is made by the genuine Scriptures to the *Book of Jasher*, is noticed in that Book as here presented to us, solely as an aspiration of the conqueror; expressed in terms which the Hebrew indeed might admit, and which are therefore introduced into the margin of our version, but which by no means adequately demonstrate the plenary manifestation of His omnipotence which it pleased God to display. "11. And Joshua said, Sun, *be thou silent* upon Gibeon: and thou, Moon, shine thou on the valley of Ajalon."—(Ch. xxx.) In the apparatus of "Various Readings," (how arising from a single MS. we know not,) prefixed to the Work, a nearer approximation is made to the truth. "Sun, rest thou on Gibeon; and shine thou, Moon, on the valley of Ajalon." But how weak and frigid are even these words when brought in contact with the two verses which follow the similar passage in *Joshua*! 13. *And the Sun stood still, and the Moon stayed until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the Book of Jasher? So the Sun stood still in the midst of Heaven and hastened not to go down about a whole day.* 14. *And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel.* And what deduction can we make from the defective representation, except that it is offered with a treacherous intention to disparage the supernatural agency?

The pseudo-Jasher terminates 400 years before the occurrence of the slaughter at Gilboa. It would be unjust, therefore, if we were to complain that the order given by David to instruct the Israelites in the use of the bow, which the inspired Word expressly informs us is written in the *Book of Jasher*, is not written in the *Jasher* of Messrs. Ilive and Bond.

The chief difference between Ilive's edition and the Bristol reprint occurs in the notes. The "Testimonies," which we extract below, and all the notes but one in the first chapter, are omitted in the latter; as are likewise all those to the end, after two upon chapter xvii. In their stead is substituted, at the commencement, a short apology for the Creation; and at the close a hortatory peroration beginning with the received form of "Let us therefore make a due improvement hereof." Besides these, is inserted a note on the Passage of the Red Sea, chiefly taken, as Mr. Horne has remarked, from Dr. Hales's *Analysis of Chronology*. All these are from the pen of the editor, and as they may at any time be obtained for twenty, or even for ten shillings, it is quite needless that we should transcribe them. But Ilive's matter, although cheaper at first, (for we learn from Mr. Horne that the cost price altogether was but half a crown,) will now probably be sought in vain at any price. Little, therefore, as it may be worth intrinsically, it possesses all the value which difficulty of attainment can impart; and on this ground we shall present some of it to our readers.

"Testimonies and Notes concerning the Book of Jasher."

"Testimonies and notes concerning the Book of Jasher, taken from the original now in the ark, with the names of the persons who wrote them, translated from the Hebrew, Chaldee and Persic."—Alcuin.

"The ark or chest is divided into three parts; the place in which the Book of Jasher is kept is locked. The Book is deposited in the middle division, and is for length three foot, and for breadth three foot; the partitions on each side are eighteen inches each; so that the length of the ark is six foot and the breadth is three foot, and the height is three foot, with four wings and two staves. On the top of the ark, on each side the part in which the Book is, is a little slit, that whoever remarketh on what they read in the Book of Jasher may slide it through the slit into either place."—Jazer.

"When any one is desirous to read in the Book of Jasher, he comes to the custos and reads in the presence of the custos, and makes his remarks if he is so minded, and then the custos puts the said remarks into the ark by the way of the slits, which are on the top covered with brass, to be pushed away on such occasions."—Ben Zaddi.

"The Book of Jasher is now in the custody of one of the Princes of Judah, in the city of Jezer, and is kept in an ark made of Cyprus; and it is the custom of all the wise men who resort to the ark to read it; (for

it is had in great esteem and is now consulted as an oracle;) and if any one remarketh thereon, he writes his remarks before the custos, and the custos puts it into the ark, from whence it is never estranged."—Zadoch.

"Jasher is a faithful historian, free from fiction, upright and an honest man."—Othmil.

"Jasher was named **יָשָׁר**; for that he was an upright man, both as to his words, his dealings and his stature; for that he had wisdom not only to direct his own conduct, but also that of the commonweal of Israel. He was upright in himself, for he never polluted himself with the women of the nations; he was the husband of one woman, his sister Azuba, who died scarce two months before him. He was married to her before the Exodus and before the law was given by Moses, which afterwards made such marriages sinful and abominable. He was always attendant on Moses and Aaron, and he bore the rod or wand of divination before them. He built a city in the land of Gilead in the Tribe of Dan, whilst the people were yet in the Wilderness, and settled his eldest son Jazer there, from whom it took its name. He built a second city after he crossed Jordan, in the Tribe of Judah, and called it Jezer. Jasher in his days directed the people of Israel to walk uprightly before God, to live peaceably and to love mercy. He reigned over Israel five and twenty years."—Phineas.

"Jasher being rod-bearer to Moses, and his brother Aaron knew the facts he hath related, and he is on that account to be relied on. The author of the Book of *Joshua* appeals to the Book of Jasher, as a testimony; as doth the author of the Book of *Samuel*. And though, in the Book of *Judges*, Jasher is not mentioned by name, as the successor of Caleb, yet we believe at this day that he did judge Israel from the death of Caleb his father to his own death. There is a testimony to this purpose in the Book of *Judges*. 'And it came to pass, when the Judge (that is, when Jasher) was dead, that the people returned, and corrupted themselves more than their fathers.' The account of things which Jasher has given seems to me as little notes which he had made for his own memorial, and designed for private use; and are of this use to the Public, that *they corroborate all the grand truths of the Five Books of Moses*, though the Work appears to be wanting of that sublimity and *stupendiousness* so remarkable in the writings of the former."—Ezra.

Mr. Horne's *Bibliographical Notes* are intended to form part of the seventh edition of his *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, now preparing for publication; and he has thrown them into the form of a separate Pamphlet only for private distribution. They contain the titles of Ilive's volume and of the Bristol reprint, contrasted in parallel columns; the extracts from Mr. Rowe-Mores' *Dissertation*, which we have printed above; an extract from Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary* relative to Ilive; and the Criticism from the *Monthly Review*, which we have already noticed. Then follow five very satisfactory reasons for rejecting the narrative of Alcuin; and the

following examples of contradiction between the Books of Moses and Joshua and that of Jasher.

“The Books of MOSES and JOSHUA are contradicted by JASHER.

GEN. xxii. 2, 11—13 And He [God] said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee off. . . . And the Angel of the Lord called unto him [Abraham] out of heaven. . . . And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him. . . . And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son.

Exod. ii. 1—5. relates the birth and exposure of Moses in an ark of bulrushes on the banks of the river Nile, and the discovery of him by Pharaoh's daughter.

5—8. And when she [Pharaoh's daughter] saw the ark among the flags, she sent her maid to fetch it. And when she had opened it, she saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call to thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child and nursed it.

Exod. i. 22. And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river.

Concerning the particular subjects of Moses' education the Book of Exodus is silent.

Numb. xxxii. 11, 12. Surely none of the men that came up out of Egypt, from twenty years old and upwards,

CHAP. iii. 19—21. And when Isaac was twenty and five years old, Abraham heard a voice saying, Take thy son and slay him, and offer him up a burnt offering in the land wherein he was born. And Sarah spake unto Abraham and said, The holy voice hath not so spoken: for remember thou the words of that voice which said unto thee, I will make of thee a great nation. And Abraham repented him of the evil he purposed to do unto his son: his only son Isaac.

v. 9—12. And Jochebed the mother of Moses, with Miriam his sister, came unto Pharaoh's daughter: and Jochebed said, Behold here the son of thy handmaid! And Pharaoh's daughter said, What wist ye? And they said, Thy father hath commanded that this infant be slain: yea, and that all the Hebrew males as soon as they are born be slain also. And Pharaoh's daughter said, Give unto me the child. And they did so. And she said, This shall be my son.

iii. 13. And it came to pass, that the wrath of Pharaoh was turned away from slaying the males of the Hebrews.

iii. 14. And the child Moses grew and increased in stature: and was learned in all the magic of the Egyptians.

xxxv. 3, 4. It is affirmed that, after the death of Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, the people were without a leader, and

shall see the land which I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, because they have not wholly followed me; save Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite, and Joshua the son of Nun.

Josh. ii. relates the mission of the two men whom Joshua sent to explore the land of Canaan, and who "went and came into an *harlot's* house, named Rahab, and lodged there;" together with their covenant with her, who was a Canaanitess.

Josh. iii. 14—16. It came to pass ... As they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest,) that the waters which came down from above, stood, *and* rose up upon an heap, very far from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan: and those that came down towards the sea of the plain, *even* the salt sea, failed, *and* were cut off; and the people passed over right against Jericho.

Josh. vi. 17, 20, 21, 24, 25. And the city shall be accursed, *even* it, and all that *are* therein, to the Lord. . . . The people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city. And they utterly destroyed all that *was* in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword. . . . And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein. . . . And Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, and her father's household, and all that she had.

Josh. vii. relates the circumstance of Achan's secreting a Babylonish garment, two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels' weight, contrary to the divine command: for which crime he and all he had were destroyed in the valley of Achor.

that Phinehas and the elders of Israel "named Jasher the son of Caleb by Azuba, seeing he is an upright man. And moreover this we know, that he hath seen all the wonders wrought in Egypt, in the wilderness: even all the mighty works that have been done."

xxvii. 8. Rahab is styled "one of the *princesses* of Jericho;" and in v. 8, she is represented as saying, "I also am the *daughter* of an Israelite by a woman of Midian."

xxviii. 10. And the wood whereon the children of Israel passed over Jordan stayed upon the face of the waters six days and six nights.

xxviii. 15, 16, 18. Then Rahab sent unto Joshua, saying, Let me intreat with thee for my nation that they may live. And Joshua answered and said, As many as save themselves by flight may live: but whosoever shall be found in Jericho shall surely die the death. . . . And the people of Jericho fled from the city every one to the mountains.

xxviii. 20—25. Achan is represented as charging Joshua with having "taken from the congregation all the gold, all the silver, and all the brass: even all the spoil of the city of Jericho, and given it to the tribe of Levi." For which crime he *ALONE* was stoned."

Horne, pp. 7, 8.

Mr. Horne then, at some length, establishes the fact, which it is impossible for any one to doubt for a moment, that the Bristol Edition of Jasher is "an unacknowledged reprint of Ilive's for-

gery, with some unimportant variations." We need not follow him through either the coincidences or the differences further than to add that

"The following are the only additional material variations between the two publications, which, after a careful collation, the author has been able to detect.

(No. I.) ILIVE'S BOOK OF JASHER,  
1751.

Ch. i. 17. Cain *conceived and bare*  
Enoch  
20. Seth *conceived and bare* Enos  
ii. 1. Lamech . . . *conceived and*  
*bare* Noah  
v. 9. ye  
xxiii. 8. doern  
13. nor  
xxxv. 28. Debora  
xxxvi. 11. thou commandest

(No. II.) BOOK OF JASHER, 1829.

Ch. i. 17. Cain *begat* Enoch.  
20. Seth *begat* Enos.  
ii. 1. Lamech *begat* Noah.  
v. 9. you.  
xxiii. 8. doest.  
13. or.  
xxxv. 28. Deborah.  
xxxvi. 11. thou commandest.

"The variations in the edition of 1829 are such as might be made by any careful compositor, and cannot (we conceive) in any degree affect the identity of the two publications."—p. 10.

Having thus, with his customary diligence and accuracy, systematically exposed the imposture, Mr. Horne concludes by noticing another apocryphal Jasher.

"There is extant a rabbinical-Hebrew Book of Jasher; printed at Venice in 1625, which is an explanation of the histories comprised in the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. Bartolucci, in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, states that it contains some curious but many fabulous things; and particularly, that this book was discovered at the time of the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem in a certain place, in which an old man was shut up, in whose possession a great number of Hebrew books was found, and among them the Book of Jasher; which was first carried into Spain, and preserved at Seville, whence finally it was taken to Naples, where it was first published.—(Vol. iii. p. 934.) Bartolucci also mentions (in p. 868) a treatise on the Jewish Laws, composed by Rabbi Tham, and called *Scpher Jasher*, or the Book of Jasher, which was printed at Cracow in 1617."—Horne, p. 11.

We have spoken above of a Letter signed H. H. M. in the *Christian Examiner* of June, 1831. The writer very satisfactorily shows, from internal evidence, that the *Book of Jasher* is a fabrication; and he deservedly reprobates it as giving encouragement to the Neologists, who seek to explain all the miracles of Scripture by natural causes. The chief contradiction of Holy Writ remarked in this Letter, which we have not already noticed, consists in the settlement of Jasher (who is proved to have been twenty-five years of age at the time of the Exodus) in the land of Canaan, when we have an express assertion in the Bible that none

of the Hebrew male adults who had quitted Egypt, with the exception of Caleb and Joshua, were permitted to enter the promised land.

A few particulars of Ilive himself may be derived from some other Works which he has left behind him, and the perusal of which has convinced us of his insanity. In 1730 he published an octavo Tract entitled *The Layman's Vindication of the Christian Religion*, which he dedicated to George II. Although Ilive at that time does not appear to have attained the full extent of crazy infidelity which he afterwards betrayed, some germs of his subsequent deterioration of Moses are visible in those pages. He takes pains to establish the Cosmogony as delivered in *Genesis*, and he argues that Moses was in truth the author of the writings which pass under his name; but concerning their divine origin he is not only altogether silent, but he evinces his disbelief by the following pretty clear innuendo. "I allow that the Decalogue or Ten Commandments do, if observed, tend to the happiness of men in particular, and of Society in general; and this certainly was the intention of Moses in giving them."—p. 127.

The cloven foot peeps out far more visibly three years afterwards. Ilive's mother, it seems, entertained not less wild opinions than himself, and it is probable that his mental distortion was hereditary. "Solely to employ leisure" he had composed an "Oration" on John xiv. 2.—*In my father's house are many mansions*; the chief tenets inculcated in which production regard a plurality of Worlds, an assertion that this Earth is Hell, that the souls of men are apostate Angels, and that the penal fire is immaterial. This rhapsody was first put together in 1729, and so delighted was the old Lady with her son's ingenuity, that after having frequently heard the composition read during her last illness, she enjoined by her Will, dated April 20, 1733, that "it should be read publicly in Stationers' Hall (if possible) within fourteen days after her decease, to as many of her acquaintance and others as shall be minded seriously to hear the same."

Mrs. Ilive died on the 29th of August in the same year; but the Stationers' Company, not approving her son's doctrine, refused the use of their Hall for the delivery of his *Oration*. He found means, however, to obtain permission from the Brewers and the Joiners, in the Halls of both which Companies he held forth according to his mother's Testament. The following passages in his *Oration* in some measure illustrate those workings of his mind which afterwards effervesced in the *Book of Jasher*.

"As to Moses, I conceive he was a man of great courage and policy. How far these are necessary to establish a new system of such rites and ceremonies as he instituted, I leave to those who after they have read

my notes, can think them of divine appointment. And here I declare that I do not look upon Moses, as a Lawgiver of the Jews, to be an impostor; but commend him for attempting to make his brethren a great People by separating them from the Nations. And so far as he did establish the Law of Natural Religion, though burdened with grievous rites and ceremonies, so far his Laws was (were) of God; or, if you please, of Divine appointment, and no further."—*Preface*, p. vii.

In a *learned* objection which he raises, without any reference to the doctrine of the Greek Article, to the English version of the clause in the Lord's Prayer, *Deliver us from evil*, he puts a question which may be thought somewhat *naïve* when it is recollected that it proceeds from the future Author of the *Book of Jasher*.

"But why these pious frauds? Why should false translations be made to serve any turn?"—p. 3.

Reverting to Moses, he asks—

"How came he to make Aaron a Priest? Why, Jethro taught him the trade. What heavy burdens! What strange rites! What wonderful stories did he impose upon his brethren, under the sanction of *Thus saith the Lord!* 'Tis evident to every man who reads his history, that if it had not been for his cunning and policy, his power and arms, he had never established his grievous Religion—a Religion which taught the Jews to worship God with Pagan Rites."—p. 35.

And finally,—

"Only I add my single opinion that these rites and ceremonies were not instituted by the God of Heaven, but by Jethro and Moses; and that the words, *Thus saith the Lord; As the Lord commandeth Moses*; should be read, *Thus saith Jethro; As Jethro commandeth Moses*."—p. 39, note.

This last-cited passage sufficiently proclaims the object for which the *Book of Jasher* was subsequently fabricated.

From Wilson's *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches* (vol. ii. p. 290), we learn that Ilive afterwards hired Carpenters' Hall, opposite *Bedlam*, in which he continued to harangue in favour of infidelity. With some other Works ascribed to his pen it has not been our lot to meet: but Chalmers mentions *A Dialogue between a Doctor of the Church of England and Mr. Jacob Ilive upon the subject of the Oration*. Neither have we ever seen the *Third Part* of Holwell's *Interesting Events in Bengal*, in which, according to the same authority, the *Oration* is highly praised. But it is well-known that some of Holwell's *Senilia* are replete with whimsical fancies concerning *Angelico-zoology*: and, moreover, the unhappy experience of that otherwise respectable Gentleman, in the Black Hole at Calcutta, may have im-



bued him with not unreasonable prejudices respecting the temperature of the Globe, and have inclined him to give too easy credit to one of Ilive's tenets, which we have already mentioned. We learn farther from Chalmers, that for publishing *Modest Remarks* (a commencement which always implies that want of modesty is about to follow) *on the late Bishop Sherlock's Sermons*, Ilive underwent two years' confinement in Clerkenwell Bridewell; during which period he published, as it was very natural he should do, *Reasons offered for the Reformation of the House of Correction in Clerkenwell*. Thenceforward, indeed, he became a thorough-paced Reformer; projected numerous Treatises for universal amendment, which Gough has enumerated in his *British Topography*; endeavoured to restore its primitive Constitution to the Stationers' Company, and closed his mischievous, turbulent and miserable career in 1763.

For Ilive may be advanced the saving plea of Madness: but what excuse is to be offered for Mr. Bond? He has not even the perverse credit of having *invented* the lie which he fosters; he is only its base and subordinate propagator. It may be believed that Ilive in his ravings persuaded himself that he might acquire reputation by his fraud, and that he forged in the hope of gaining honour, just as it is said that Antony, King of Navarre, picked pockets out of sheer Love of Fame. But the sole motives, which actuate his successor in the same dirty path, must be a sordid desire for lucre, a diseased craving for money, a Bulimia of Avarice. In our character of Beadles of Literature we have thought it a duty to exhibit the lash to this daring plagiarist, who has been seeking to grow fat upon stolen garbage: and in taking leave of him, as we hope, for ever, we have satisfaction in stating that he has already begun to disgorge some of his ill-gotten prey, and that his *Prospectus* has recently disappeared from circulation.

ART. VII.—1. *The Book of the Psalms of David, in English Blank Verse: being a new Poetical Arrangement of the sweet Songs of Israel; adapted to the use of general Readers, with a View to the more perfect Understanding, and consequent relish and appreciation of, the subject-matter of those Divine Compositions.* By the Rev. George Musgrave, A. M. B. N. C. Oxon. 1 vol. 8vo. Rivingtons. London, 1833. pp. 506.

2. *A Paraphrase of the Psalms, executed in Blank Verse: with strict attention to the Notes and Commentaries of Bishops Horsley, Horne, &c. and closely approximated to the Text of the*

*authorised Versions of the Old Testament and the Liturgy.* By P. J. Ducarel, Esq. 1 vol. 8vo. Hamilton, Adams and Co. London. 1833. pp. 304.

THERE is an old story to be found, we presume in the erudite pages of Mr. Joseph Miller, of a Frenchman, who, having been vanquished and laid prostrate by an Englishman in battle, humbly demanded his life; upon which his antagonist replied, that he could not comply with *that* request, but should be happy to grant him any *other* favour in his power. We almost fear that the compliments, which we may pay to Mr. Musgrave and Mr. Ducarel, will be deemed of nearly as little value after the great deduction, which we must make in the first instance, as the proffered civilities of the victorious Englishman to his fallen foe, accompanying the polite intimation that he must put him to death. Yet we feel bound to state our opinion, that the idea of translating the Psalms into blank verse is an error of judgment. And we come equally to this conclusion, whether we look to the nature of the undertaking itself, or to the utility which it is likely to carry with it, or the reception which it is likely to meet.

Now, as to the nature of the design in itself, it *does* appear to us that the character of the Psalms is either *Lyric* or *Elegiac*. They are Hebrew odes or spiritual songs. But surely the varied pauses, the long-drawn links of harmony, the majestic, but somewhat tardy march, so essential to the being of blank verse, are quite incompatible with their symmetry of opposition and parallelism. Accordingly, we find in both these versions, a monotony of versification, a recurrence of the same cadences, a balance of clauses in the same sentence, agreeable because natural and proper in other kinds of metre, but entirely destructive of the true excellence or perfection of blank verse; and we also find an attempt to conquer these defects by a somewhat tedious circumlocution and a pompous array of words, in which no fresh conceptions are conveyed. Mr. Ducarel, indeed, entitles his version “a paraphrase of the Psalms:” and yet Mr. Musgrave is the more paraphrastic of the two, although he disclaims an inclination “to versify with all the license of poetical privilege;” and adds—

“The Author is content to have foregone the opportunities of embellishing the following pages with displays of flowery paraphrase and dilatation, and to aspire to no credit beyond that of having respected the most approved interpretations of the Hebrew text, and of having transmuted the Psalms of the English Bible into a form of verse, which seemed to him, upon reflection, the best calculated to expand and reveal their meaning.” —*Preface*, pp. vi. vii.

We might go on to say, that the quick transitions, the sublime apostrophes, the noble and often abrupt exclamations of the

Psalmist, are obviously adapted to a more rapid and spirited measure than blank verse:—and we might assert, further, that English blank verse may be admirably suited to poems of considerable length, where the jingle of rhyme, or the return of the same stanza, would be fatiguing;—or to historical and dramatic poems, where either of these things would be utterly misplaced: but that in *short* compositions, which pour forth feelings, rather than describe events, the ear catches with pleasure the recurrence of the same sounds, and is accustomed to it, and expects it. We have said enough, however, to express our belief, that the garb of blank verse is not the dress best suited for “a new poetical arrangement of the *sweet songs* of Israel:”—and, in point of fact, even if we could suppose ourselves competent to such a task, we should no more think of turning the Psalms into blank verse, than we should think of turning “*Paradise Lost*” into strophe and antistrophe.

Still less, if we may continue to quote Mr. Musgrave’s words, do we think such a “poetical arrangement” well “adapted to the use of general readers, with a view to the more perfect understanding, and consequent relish and appreciation of, the subject-matter of these divine compositions.” For here we come to the inquiry, whether such a version can be put to much use, or is likely to meet with a very enthusiastic welcome. We fear *not*. The tide of public favour is now running strongly against verse of all kinds, and yet *more* strongly perhaps against blank verse than any other kind whatever. The question then unfortunately intrudes itself, “*cui bono?*” A version of the Psalms in blank verse is scarcely fit either to be “*said or sung*.” For the purposes of common perusal, the fine and almost metrical prose, either of the Bible or the Prayer Book, will, we imagine, be preferred, both from its inherent attraction, and, again, from long familiarity and cherished associations, to a poetical paraphrase: and for the purpose of *singing*, blank verse is of course out of the question.

But “many men, many minds.” Let us cite what Mr. Musgrave thinks; only, by the way, entering our decided protest against the truth of the description in the latter part of the extract.

“The primary design, therefore, of the present work is simply this:—that in a serious and sober form of verse, the structure of which bears, on that very account, a nearer resemblance to the vernacular prose translation of the Psalms, than any other metre, these beauteous effusions of devout and holy thought, praise, prayer, confession, intercession, and thanksgiving may commend themselves more sweetly to the sense, and more intelligibly to the comprehension of casual readers, than in the *crude*

and uninviting (only because more literal and *rugged*) diction of the Liturgical Translation."—*Preface*, p. xix.

After all, the matter is a matter of opinion. And it may be well that the Psalms should appear in every possible shape; for in no shape, perhaps, *can* they appear without presenting to us some fresh and hitherto unappreciated charm. And assuredly, in our preceding observations, we have been actuated by any thing rather than an unfriendly disposition to Mr. Musgrave or Mr. Ducarel; for we entertain a sincere wish to soften the feelings of disappointment, which these gentlemen may experience as to the circulation of their volumes, by showing to themselves and others, that, if their success be incommensurate with their expectations, the circumstance is attributable to the nature of the design, and not to a deficiency of skill or power in the execution. The *execution* deserves great praise.

That such is the case extracts from both versions would form the most satisfactory evidence. We are sorry that we can only afford two from each: and we leave our readers to judge for themselves which version is the most commendable:—whether the simpler diction of Mr. Ducarel, who states his version to be a paraphrase; or the more copious and ornate style of Mr. Musgrave, who certainly allows himself a considerable liberty for—

"A versifier, who, rejecting as much as possible the aid of adscititious ornament, or the introduction of pleonasms foreign to the simple dignity of Scriptural diction, has been more anxious to enlighten the understanding, than to recreate the ear."—*Preface*, p. v.

We take the first Psalm, as the fairest specimen for both parties; giving precedence to Mr. Musgrave on account of his cloth.

#### PSALM I.

"Blessed is he whose mortal life's career  
It's onward course maintaineth unapproach'd  
Of sin's unhallow'd counsel, and whose feet  
Untrodden leave the devious paths of guilt.  
Blessed of Heaven, who rejects the seat  
Which impious scorn hath chosen for it's own,  
But with devoted heart rejoicing turns  
To Heaven's law—the precepts of his God—  
To muse therein the noontide hour, and dwell  
In meditation on their truth by night.  
His way of life resembleth that fair tree,  
Which, on the streamlet's genial margin rear'd,  
Yields in due season it's abundant fruits;  
And, with a kindly all-productive growth,  
'Mid leaves of never-fading verdure thrives.

Far other doom awaits the sons of vice :—  
 Like chaff upon the scattering winds upborne,  
 The cause of sinners, when their hour is come,  
 And judgment is awarded, shall not stand ;  
 Nor in the pure assemblies of the just  
 Shall Guilt maintain it's station ;—for the Lord  
 Our God, with all-observant care, regards  
 The progress of His righteous servants' course,  
 While all the counsels, all the ways of vice,  
 Untimely failing, in perdition end."—*Musgrave*, pp. 1, 2.

PSALM I.

“ Blessed is he, whom from his steadfast course  
 Ungodly counsels shall not lead astray ;  
 Who, nor with sinners lingers in his path,  
 Nor sits in mockery in the scorner's seat ;  
 But whose delight is on Jehovah's law  
 To meditate from morn till eve with joy.  
 Oh ! he shall flourish, vigorous as a tree  
 Upon the brook-side springing, soon to yield  
 A copious harvest of its fruits : his leaf  
 Shall never wither, and whate'er he doeth  
 Shall prosper, favoured of the Lord. Not so  
 The ungodly, whom the winds, like chaff, away  
 Shall scatter o'er the land : in the dread hour  
 Of judgment shall they fall, nor find a place  
 Amidst the assembled righteous before God.  
 Ah ! well the all-seeing eye of God discerns  
 Their ways who choose the right ; while, who pursue  
 Unrighteous course, shall His just wrath destroy.”  
*Ducarel*, pp. 1, 2.

Our other selection shall be the 24th Psalm, as it affords a good sample of the *manner* of Mr. Ducarel's paraphrase ; while it demonstrates to our view the unsuitableness of blank verse for a translation of the Psalms. For what shall we say of chorus or semi-chorus taking up the strain in the *middle* of a line of blank verse ?

PSALM XXIV.

Ascension Day.

MESSIAH'S EXALTATION.—[HORSLEY.]

[To the Beloved.—An Ode.]

*Chorus.*

“ Earth is the Lord's, the world's vast compass His,  
 And all that dwell its ample bounds within ;  
 For on the seas He builded it ; upon  
 The floods He planted its foundation.

*First Voice.*

Who

Shall unto Zion's sacred brow ascend ?  
Or who within God's sanctuary dare stand ?

*Second Voice.*

Even he whose hands are clean, whose heart is pure,  
Whose mind swells not with vanity and pride,  
Who sweareth not, his neighbour to deceive,—  
He shall attain the blessing of the Lord,  
And from the cup of His salvation quaff  
Of righteousness.

*Chorus.*

Such is the godly race  
Of them that seek him, them that seek thy face,  
Oh Jacob !—

*Semichorus.*

Lift on high your heads, ye gates !  
Be ye nplift ye everlasting doors !  
The King of Glory enters.

*Second Voice.*

Say, O say,

Who is the King of Glory, who is He ?

*Second Voice.*

It is the Lord Jehovah, strong and mighty,—  
The Lord Jehovah, in the battle mighty.—

*Semichorus.*

Lift up your heads, ye gates, be ye uplift  
Oh ! everlasting doors.

*Single Voice.*

Hail ! who is He ?

The King of Glory, who ?—Jehovah, Lord,  
The Lord of Hosts ; of Glory He is King !”\*

*Ducarel*, pp. 40, 41.

## PSALM XXIV.

“ The Earth and all that it's abundance yields,  
This world itself, and they that dwell therein,  
Are all the Lord's ; for His creating hand  
It's firm foundations laid above the seas,  
And fix'd them o'er the river-floods supreme.  
Who shall ascend the mount of the Most High ?  
Or who shall in His sanctuary stand ?  
He who in hand and heart alike is pure,  
Who scorns the Heathen mock'ry, and would spurn

“ \* The plan of the 24th Psalm, according to the letter of it, is beautifully delineated by Bishop Lowth, in his 27th Lecture. The Ark of God is supposed to be moving in a grand and solemn procession of the whole Israelitish nation, towards the place of its future residence, on Mount Zion (1 Chron. xv.): the Psalm is sung whilst ascending the mountain, announcing the sovereignty of Jehovah, &c. and is applicable to the Christian Church, and the Ascension of our Lord into Heaven.”

The taint of Perjury's evasive fraud.  
 God's blessing shall await him ; mercy's gifts  
 Shall from the God of his salvation flow ;  
 And such in heart are all, who seek Thy grace,  
 O Thou ! whom Jacob balleth for his Lord.  
 Lift up your heads, ye gates ! Arise on high  
 Ye ancient portals ! and the glorious King  
 Shall enter :—' Who is this in glory crown'd ?'  
 It is the Lord Jehovah, strong in might—  
 The Lord triumphant in the fields of war.  
 Lift up your heads, ye gates ! Eternal doors,  
 Arise ! and entrance give to glory's King !  
 ' Who comes with Glory's diadem adorn'd ?'  
 The mighty God of hosts, the Lord Himself—  
 He is the King, and weareth glory's crown."

*Musgrave*, pp. 63, 64.

It would be unjust to omit that much valuable information, with respect to the peculiar character and meaning of the Psalms, is to be found in Mr. Ducarel's preface, and the extracts from preceding authors, which are interspersed through his volume.

And here we might stop. But we are anxious to say just two or three words upon the general question of translations of the Psalms, as it relates to the public service of our Churches. There are, we conceive, some fifty translations, good, bad, or indifferent ; but the only versions regularly authorized are the version of Sternhold and Hopkins, and the version of Brady and Tate ; and which of the two is the most abominable is a problem so nice, that we shall not even attempt the decision of it, except so far as to declare our opinion that if, with reference to the reputation of the inspired poems, the former version seems the most atrocious offence, the latter is nevertheless the deepest injury. The version of Sternhold and Hopkins is indeed, by common consent, and almost to a proverb, an outrage, not to say a burlesque, upon the sweet Psalmist of Israel : and we shall, therefore, dismiss it by merely hinting, that it has yet occasionally a rough strength and raciness about it, more tolerable, in our estimation, than the weak tameness and mawkish dilutions of its succeeding rival. Brady and Tate, it is true, write smoother lines ; but let the reader just compare the vigour and spirit of the following brief passages from the Psalms themselves, with the tawdry ornaments, the stupid amplifications, the faults at once of redundancy and deficiency in Tate and Brady's translation, and then say whether it ought even to be allowed.

We have happened to pitch upon the 12th, the 14th, the 19th, the 107th, and the 137th Psalms ; and that our equity may be unimpeached, we shall merely give the commencement of each of these Psalms as it appears in the Prayer-Book, and then the un-

meaning expletives by which Messrs. Brady and Tate have expanded their translation.

Ps. xii. v. 1. Help me, Lord, for there is not one godly man left: for the faithful are minished from among the children of men.

Ps. xiv. v. 1. The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God. They are corrupt, and become abominable in their doings: there is none that doeth good; no, not one.

Ps. xix. v. 1—5. The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handy work.

One day telleth another: and one night certifieth another.

There is neither speech or language: but their voices are heard among them.

Their sound is gone out into all lands: and their words into the ends of the world.

In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun: which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course.

Ps. cvii. O give thanks unto the Lord: for he is gracious: and his mercy endureth for ever.

Ps. cxxxvii. By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept: when we remembered thee, O Sion.

If we looked for *botches* in the *middle* of the Psalms, what should we think of a *hundred* such passages as the following?

Ps. xlix. v. 13. This is their foolishness: and their posterity praise their saying.

Verse 20. Man being in honour hath no understanding: but is compared unto the beast that perish.

Since godly men decay, O Lord,  
Do thou my course defend;  
For scarce these wretched times afford  
One just and faithful friend.

Sure wicked fools must needs suppose  
That God is nothing but a name:  
Corrupt and lewd their practice grows;  
No breast is warm'd with holy flame.

The heavens declare thy glory, Lord,  
Which that alone can fill;  
The firmament and stars express  
Their great Creator's skill.

The dawn of each returning day,  
Fresh beams of knowledge brings;  
And from the dark returns of night,  
Divine instruction springs.

Their powerful language to no realm  
Or region is confin'd;  
'Tis nature's voice, and understood  
Alike by all mankind.

Their doctrine doth its sacred sense  
Through earth's extent display;  
Whose bright contents the circling sun  
Doth round the earth convey.

No bridegroom, on his nuptial day,  
Has such a cheerful face:  
No giant doth like him rejoice  
To run his glorious race.

To God your grateful voices raise,  
Who does your daily patron prove;  
And let your never-ceasing praise  
Attend on his eternal love.

When we, our weary limbs to rest,  
Sat down by proud Euphrates' stream,  
We wept, with doleful thoughts oppress'd,  
And Sion was our mournful theme.

How great their folly is who thus  
Absurd conclusions make!  
And yet their children unreclaimed,  
Repeat the gross mistake.

For man, how great soe'er his state,  
Unless he's truly wise,  
As like a sensual beast he lives,  
So like a beast he dies.

Here then we think that some alteration might be made in a particular part of our Church Service, with the attainment of a



manifest advantage, and without trenching upon any sacred or venerable principle. Or, perhaps, we ought hardly to use the word *alteration*; for what happens as the case now stands? There is no uniformity in our churches as to the Psalms which are sung. In one church the old version is still retained: in a second, the new is substituted: in a third we find selections from both: in a fourth, not either of the versions, nor a selection from the two. In many churches, and in more chapels, some private collection of Psalms and Hymns is introduced; in some few instances, we understand, the composition of the minister himself, who is thus exhibited in the decorous and dignified light of making a profit by the sale of his own Hymn-books for the use of his own flock. Thus the want of a good version of the Psalms, sufficiently and properly authorized, leads to the actual irregularity of almost *ad libitum* selections; some, we allow, unexceptionable in their individual character; but others again, we scruple not to add, impregnated with a tone *at least peculiar*, and containing many expressions offensive not merely to just taste, but to sound religious feeling.

Might not either a new translation be made, or a good selection from versions already published; and, after a careful revision by competent persons, and under the sanction of the highest authorities, be sent forth for the adoption of all or any places of worship throughout the kingdom? It would be a good in many points of view to render the singing in our churches more a *congregational* act than it is at present; and it is a great mistake to conceive, that, for the most part, our congregations, as they are now constituted, cannot appreciate, and will not feel, the poetical merits or demerits of what they sing. It would be a good in many points of view to attain a more complete *uniformity* in this portion of our public worship, as well as to make it *really* a thing of public and united worship, instead of a performance enacted, as it too often is, only by the clerk and the charity-children. The dissenters, we fear, understand much better than most churchmen, the power of psalmody, not simply in attracting a congregation, but in attaching it to a house of prayer, and building up its faith, and giving wings almost of fire to its devotions. They act, at least, as if they understood it much better. One large step would be to procure a *third* version, or an excellent selection, of the Psalms; and to take care that only that selection, or the new and old versions already in use—which would under such circumstances soon be superseded—should be allowed in churches or chapels belonging to the established religion of the country.

It is for us merely to suggest this matter: we would gladly see it taken up by persons abler and more exalted than ourselves.

ART. VIII.—*Lives of Eminent Christians.* By the Rev. T. B. Hone. London, 1833.

THE writer of *Lives of Eminent Christians* has no need to seek for them in the chronicles of strange lands. Thanks be to God, our own country has been the fruitful mother of good men; our churchyards are hallowed by their ashes; the very streets we walk in have been sanctified by their footsteps; their memory goes with us into the noise of every day life, and returns with us to our firesides. Being dead, they yet speak in the thousand antique volumes which time has spared. We can listen to the charmed speech still flowing from the lips of the golden-mouthed preacher,\* and cheer our drooping spirits with the eloquent comfortings of him, who seems, of a truth, to have drank of the “wine of angels.”† But not within the borders of their native country alone are the names of her children recorded—they live in the heart of the distant Indian; they are pronounced with love and veneration by the lips of men burnt by the Afric sun. They have penetrated wherever the human step hath trod, or the human voice been heard. Through perils by land, through perils by water, and among wild regions and wilder men, have they pursued a path of pain and difficulty; pain, felt only to be despised, and difficulties, encountered only to be overcome. Nothing could daunt the inflexible energy of their minds, or divert it from the goal at which it aimed.

Mr. Hone has selected for the present volume four names, deservedly dear to our Christian literature: Archbishop Usher, Dr. Hammond, Bishop Wilson, and John Evelyn. Two out of the four, at least, were not only eminent Christians, but men of the most extensive learning, and peculiarly well fitted on that account to show the beautiful lustre which religion lends to the highest acquirements of the intellect. Our limits will not suffer us to do more than make a few rapid observations. To begin with Archbishop Usher:

“There is something more transitory,” observes Mr. Hone, “in the nature of literary distinction than is commonly imagined. The successful labours of a whole life, employed in the most arduous research, enable succeeding students to advance by an easy ascent to the height at which the earlier traveller had arrived with so much toil and fatigue; they avail themselves of the paths which he has devoted his days and nights to make smooth and free, and their time and strength are reserved for further enterprises. Thus one man labours, and others enter into his labours; and the meed of public applause, which he enjoyed for a season, is transferred to those who have lengthened

\* St. Chrysostom.

† Jeremy Taylor.

the track which he first opened, and which he made easy for them to traverse."

These words have a melancholy truth when applied to Archbishop Usher. His patient learning, his indefatigable industry, and his single-hearted labours in the cause of religion, are all forgotten by the world, like the cloud of yesterday. Even his immortal work, *The Annals of the Old and New Testament*, which carried his name throughout civilized Europe, is seldom, we suspect, in the present day consulted save by some silver-haired student in the silence of a college library. It sleeps undisturbed amid dust and cobwebs on the most neglected shelf. It were a vain endeavour to seek to disperse the shades of oblivion which thus gather round these ancient and honoured names; but their possessors have left other memorials behind them, less subject to the influences of time, and the changes of taste and opinion; though the theological acquirements of Usher are fully known to few, his gentle piety and Christian meekness have won tears and praise from many hearts. His pen, even when engaged in controversy, had no polemical bitterness in it; and in the celebrated Defence of the Church, in which he was associated with the eloquent Bishop Hall against the illustrious Milton, he has been justly pointed out as the only combatant whose primary object was not to mortify and wound the feelings of his adversaries.

The "reverses" of Usher are narrated with much simplicity and truth by Mr. Hone:

"Alas!" he exclaims, "that Archbishop Usher should have been compelled to accept alms at the hands of strangers! But these trials made him feel more strongly than ever that his rest was not here; and his good hope, through faith, supported him amidst his journeyings—his perils of waters and of robbers—his perils by his own countrymen, and among false brethren—through weariness, and painfulness, and watchings often—through afflictions, necessities, and tumults—through evil report, and good report. He could say in every dispensation, as unknown, and yet well known, as dying, and behold we live; as chastened and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things."

Beautifully is it said in the "Christian year:"

"From darkness here and dreariness  
We ask not full repose;  
Only be Thou at hand to bless  
Our trial-hour of woes.  
Is not the pilgrim's toil o'er paid  
By the clear rill and palmy shade?  
And see we not up earth's dark glade,  
The gate of heaven unclose?"

Never was the heart of the suffering prelate so depressed that he did not receive consolation from the truths of the Gospel; though grief was his guest for a season, joy came to him in the morning. In the most dreary paths of his wandering through the wilderness he was never forsaken by Faith and Hope. Faith that erreth not, and Hope that maketh not ashamed. He knew that Mercy dwelt behind the blackest cloud, and would soon break out with undimmed lustre.

It has been said that Oliver Cromwell bestowed a pension upon Usher—this is doubted by his chaplain Dr. Parr, and Mr. Hone has not been able to throw any light upon the question. We remember to have met with an allusion to a pension granted to the archbishop, in Thurloe's State Papers, but we have not the work at hand to consult. This matter ought, if possible, to be cleared up.

We wish Mr. Hone had given one or two specimens of the archbishop's sermons; he quotes a passage from the edition of some which were preached at Oxford, and printed from the notes of three clergymen present at their delivery:

"The persuasion of Armagh's incomparable learning," they say, "the observation of his awful gravity, the evidence of his eminent and exemplary piety, all improved to the height by his indefatigable industry, drew students to flock to him, as doves to the windows. It joys us to recollect how multitudes of scholars, especially the heads of our tribes, thronged to hear the sound of his silver bells; how much they were taken with the voice of this wise charmer; how their ears seemed, as it were, fastened to his lips. Here you might have seen a sturdy Paul, a persecutor transformed into a preacher; there, a tender-hearted Josiah lamenting after the Lord, and with Ephraim smiting on his thigh, saying, '*What have I done?*' Others with the penitent Jews so stabbed to the heart, as that they were forced to cry out in the bitterness of their soul, '*Men, brethren, fathers, what shall we do?*' These were some of the blessings from on high which attended these sermons."

At p. 72 another interesting anecdote is told of the effect produced upon the congregation by his simple and affectionate oratory:

"He happened to be in London, and was importuned by the Countess of Peterborough, and other kind friends, to preach at St. Martin's church. That was the parish in which he was living, and the old church was not so large but that he might be heard in it. Accordingly, he complied with their wishes, and after having preached at some length chanced to look upon the hour-glass, the sands of which appeared to his defective sight to have run out. So, as he was always fearful of diminishing the usefulness of his sermons by making them so long as to weary the hearers, he concluded his discourse, and told the congre-

gation that since the time was past, he would leave the rest he had to say on that subject to another opportunity, if God should please to grant it to him, of speaking again to them in that place. But the congregation finding out his mistake, and that there was some of the hour yet to come, and not knowing whether they might ever have the like happiness of hearing him again, made signs to the reader to let him know that the glass was not run out, and that they earnestly desired he would make an end of all he intended to have spoken."

The chief characteristics of Usher's sermons are simplicity and affectionate earnestness; unlike the general pulpit-eloquence of his contemporaries, they are not encumbered with the gay tulips and useless daffodils which Jeremy Taylor objected to. He considered that the waters of salvation needed nothing to recommend them, save their own purity and healthfulness.

The life of Usher could not be more appropriately followed than by that of Dr. Hammond, whom Bishop Burnet calls a man of "great learning and of most eminent merit," and who, during "the bad times, had maintained the cause of the church in a very singular manner." Our remarks, however, must be confined to one portion of his life.

Mr. Hone's account of Dr. Hammond, after his ejection from the University of Oxford, is very satisfactory, but he might have found some additional facts, not indeed of any particular importance, but still interesting, in nineteen letters written by Dr. Hammond to Mr. Peter Staninough, and Dr. Nathaniel Ingelo. These letters were published by Francis Peck, the well known author of the *Desiderata Curiosa*, from the originals communicated to him by the Rev. Robert Marsden, Archdeacon of Nottingham, and the Rev. John Worthington. They came into the possession of Mr. Marsden's father by his marriage with the relict of Mr. Staninough.

After being "thrust" out of Christchurch by the parliament visitors, to use the words of Anthony Wood, Hammond was imprisoned several weeks in a private house at Oxford, and was subsequently removed through the influence of his brother-in-law, Sir John Temple, to the residence of Sir Philip Warwick at Clapham, in Bedfordshire, where he met with very kind entertainment. He says (letter iii), "I received your letter and the great favours of the two gentlemen, but far from the place to which they were directed. I am long since removed from Oxford to a kind of *Libera Custodia* at Mr. Warwick's house near Bedford."

In our quotations from these letters the orthography of the writer is almost in all cases preserved.

M. Staninough seems to have been residing in the house of

Sir Robert Pye, in the capacity of tutor, when the sixth letter was written—Dr. Hammond's course of reading for his friend's pupil deserves to be extracted.

"Your course entered upon I do fully approve; and when you have occasion to add any more, it may either be Moralists, Greek (if the disciple be capable of them) or els Latine: Tully's Offices and the rest of that volume, Seneca, some parts of Pettrach, and then, if you please, *Aquinas Secunda Secundæ*. And from thence ascending to divinity, beginning with *Grotius de Veritate*, or *Morney*, on falling on the Gospels with Grotius's Annotations. And besides the course of History, through which you know your guesses, (*qy.*) I know no other politickes (I am sure none more fit for a Christian,) than strict rules of living from the *Sermon on the Mount*, &c. I write this now in full speed. When you deliberately call for any more particular direction, I shall hope to be at more leisure to answer you distinctly."

From Clapham Dr. Hammond removed to Westwood, in Worcestershire, the residence of Sir John Packington, an eminent loyalist. Here he enjoyed rest from his labours. A small patrimony we are told, which the hand of the spoiler had spared, enabled him to dispense something in charity, and Sir John and "the good lady" Packington testified by their attentions how sensible they were of the virtues and excellence of their inmate. Hammond was, indeed, a pleasant addition to their fireside circle. He was gentle in his temper, agreeable in his manners, and had "a good voice and a taste for music, and could sing a little." Here he resumed his habits of active study. He rose, his biographer tells us, from his bed at four or five o'clock, rarely so late as six, and he did not retire to rest till midnight; for he was both fond of learned research, and so sensible of the snares that lay in the path of idleness, that he had acquired a deep aversion to it, and always besought others to shun its dangers. Even while he dressed his servant read to him, and in this way he became acquainted with the contents of several volumes; and as he took his walk through the shady avenues which surrounded the mansion of Westwood, a book was his constant companion.

A letter written from Westwood, September 10, 1658, affords a pleasing illustration of the foregoing observations. It is copied from the *Nineteen Letters* already mentioned, and shows how carefully Hammond watched the proceedings of the literary world through his "loopholes of retreat."

"September 10, 1658.

SIR,—I received your's of August 24, long after at London, but found not leasure to answer (it) till this day, on which I arrived at Westwood, the place of my country retirement; whence I hasten (the first thing I do) to discharge my debt; and to tell you, that Mr.

P[ieux] his *Αυτοκατακρασις*, &c., is now come forth, and is now likely to be the last he will have occasion to write on that subject. Mr. Baxter, I believe, diverts him to another.

"I am sorry to hear of the addition of that Jewish to all the former giddynesses of the age. I had heard of Mr. Brabourne's late booke, which he unwilling, it seems, was brought to; having resolved to be silent though he had resumed his opinion.

"As to the *Prolepsis*, Gen. ii. 3, I never saw reason to doubt of it, or consequently to assign any other date to the Sabbatick Law, than that of Exod. xvi. And it is considerable (which as I remember, Mr. Mead noted) that the seven dayes, immediately preceeding the first Manna Weeke, were spent ether in travailing which was contrary enough to the sabbatizing the last day of them.—

\* \* \*

Your other quære—*Utrum misericors Deus restituat pœnitenti omnia bona, quæ per peccatum perdiderat?* in general speaking is easily answered. For grace, (both the gift of God, and the favour of God, adoption, justification, and right to salvation,) which are the general comprehensive heads which contain *omnia bona quæ per peccatum perdiderat*, are certainly restored to the pœnitent. But whether so great a degree of these be restored to the pœnitent, as is secured to the just man that needs no repentance, I have no ground from scripture to determine. For as, on one side, 'tis said there that there is more joy in heaven for the pœnitent; and that the returning prodigal was feasted, &c., when the sonn that was always with the father was not; which inclines to the affirmative; so 'tis said by way of answer to that, as to an objection, that all the father had, was his, and that that was more valuable to him than one feast. And beside, the joy and the festival proves not the *bona omnia* in the same degree. The safest way then of resolution I think is, that he that hath sinn'd, when he returned, should by double diligence qualify himself, as St. Paul did; and then no doubt to him will belong that of—*the last shall be first.*"

The *Αυτοκατακρασις* referred to was "Self Condemnation Exemplified," &c. published in 1658, and containing reflections on Calvin, Beza, &c. and more particularly on Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury.

When the fainting spirits of men began to revive at the prospect of the restoration, and a season of peace dawned after so long a storm, Dr. Hammond's health was rapidly declining. The habits of application he had pursued with unremitting diligence for so many years, had entailed upon him diseases which rendered it necessary for him to shorten his hours of study, and threatened a speedy termination of his life. His own sufferings, however, were forgotten in his anxiety for the welfare of his country. He even viewed the returning prosperity of the royal party with "fear and trembling;" for while he believed, observes Mr. Hone, "that the righteous cause was about to triumph, he feared that

as religion had been made subservient to ambition, and assumed as a cloak by those who had evil purposes to promote, the nation might be disgusted with real piety, and hurry into the opposite extremes of open profligacy and profaneness. It had been his prayer that whenever God should see fit to turn the captivity of the nation, it might be in a state of repentance." He was afraid that the evils which had been endured would not be converted into "medicinal advantages;" and that many would become "intoxicated by the pleasanter draughts" of prosperity.

On the 16th of March, 1659, he writes :

"I am very glad that the troubles that were so near as to menace, were not permitted to take any hold on you. I hope that the feares of that sort, are now *prettily* well dispelled, if our unreformed sins do not call them again upon us. It appears not improbable, that the tabernacle of David which hath been in the dust so long, may ere long be reædified; but whether or not with those diminutions which may extort teares from them that compare the second with the former ædifice, I am not able to divine."\*

For his own part he did not contemplate the honours which seemed to be in store for himself, with any sentiments of joy. His hours had passed away in such "a constant equable serenity and unthoughtfulness in outward accidents," as his friend Bishop Hall expressed it, that to him no change could promise greater personal felicity :

"I must confess," he one day observed, "I never saw the time in my life wherein I could so cheerfully say my *Nunc Dimittis* as now. Indeed I do dread prosperity, I do really dread it. For the little good I am now able to do, I can do it with deliberation and advice; but, if it please God I should live, and be called to any higher office in the church, I must then do many things in a hurry, and shall not have time to consult with others, and I sufficiently apprehend the danger of relying on my own judgment."

We cannot refrain from making one more brief extract from these letters, beautifully illustrative of Dr. Hammond's uncorrupted and affectionate heart. Acknowledging, on the 27th of March, 1660, the receipt of a volume of sermons from Dr. Ingelo, the vice-provost of Eton, he says: "It is very long since I had the least conversation with my very much loved old friend, Eton College, and there is no means whereby I am better pleased to renew it. About a year and three quarters since I was near as the way betwixt Itcham and old Windsor lead me."

So fresh and warm were the feelings of boyhood in the heart of one, about whom the shadows of the grave were already gathering, for on the 25th of April following, this faithful servant

\* Nineteen Letters.



of his Lord was called home to receive his reward. He perished in the autumn of his days, and although the bereaved church might well "weep over her departed son," yet for himself, as his present biographer has remarked, the "change was happily timed, as it released him from bodily sufferings which would have continued to afflict him to the end of his days—rescued him from the temptations of prosperity, which he feared—saved him the pain of witnessing the increase of vice and irreligion, which he sorrowfully anticipated—and bore him to those pure and peaceful habitations for which he had been constantly preparing."

It is singular that his death should have happened on the same day on which Parliament was "assembled for the purpose of recalling the king." He was buried in the parish church of Hampton with an unostentatious simplicity well becoming the peaceful tenor of his life.

Mr. Hone introduces the memoir of the admirable Bishop Wilson with some very pleasing observations :—

"Among the most delightful associations connected with the world of spirits is that idea which originates in our belief in the communion of saints, and which represents to us the children of God who have lived upon earth at various periods of time, as forming one fold under one great shepherd.

"Of those who, in humbly pursuing the paths of faith and holiness, are looking forward to be introduced into this company of the redeemed—there are few who have not fixed upon a chosen circle of just men made perfect, from whose society they expect more particular pleasure. The idea is so natural, so intimately blended with all our better feelings, and really forms so beautiful and strong a tie to the invisible world, that it is one which it cannot be wrong to entertain. The chosen circle, doubtless, consists in the first place of those, whom having seen, we have known and loved; kindred and friends who have died in the Lord attach us to the citizens of heaven, and cause us to remember Zion with a more vivid interest.

"Tis sweet as year by year we lose  
Friends out of sight, by faith to muse  
How grows in paradise our store."

*Christian Year.*

"But it includes others also, belonging to distant countries or times, whose hands we have never clasped, whose voices we have never heard, whose bodily presence we have never seen, but with whose minds and characters we have become intimately acquainted and strongly attached. The simple-minded Christians of primitive times—the confessors who being faithful unto death were to receive a crown of life—the staunch defenders of the faith, especially when their conscientious firmness and boldness in their Lord's behalf were associated with gentleness of spirit. These claim and possess the affection of the sincere Christian \* \* \* \* But still that company comprises others, perhaps even more beloved than these, whose lives may not have been distinguished by

any very remarkable incidents, yet to whom we are linked in the closest union. They are those to whom we owe the thoughts and impressions from which we derive the greatest satisfaction ; those who in bequeathing to us wholesome counsel, have inscribed in their holy pages a picture of their own minds."

How many beautiful thoughts does this passage awaken in the heart ! How many dear familiar faces, long loved and lost, seem suddenly to revive in the quiet of our memory, not cold and pale with the shadows of the tomb, but glowing with the warm airs of paradise ! How many voices speak to us with the very tones of childhood ; how many young feet dance by us with a sound of music ! Precious, indeed, to the bereaved spirit is this Christian anticipation ! It rolls away the cloud from our eyes, it turns the shades of sorrow into the light of morning. We can gaze upon the vacant chair without weeping ; we can think of the departed with a placid joy as of one who has set out on a pleasant journey to his Father's house, there to wait for the coming of the beloved. Thus strengthened, we may go forward boldly on our pilgrimage, neither fainting nor murmuring, but ever turning our face when wearied to the Garden of Rest, whither those whom we pine for have gone before us. Scarcely less delightful is the belief that we may meet in that celestial country the glorified members of the great literary priesthood, who laboured while on earth to exalt the name of their Maker ; Milton, and Raphael, and Dante, and the rest of the immortal Band. The enthusiastic painter Blake had some romantic ideas upon this subject.

The works of Bishop Wilson obtained the praise of Dr. Johnson.

" To think on Bishop Wilson with veneration," says the critic writing to the prelate's son, " is only to agree with the whole Christian world. I hope to look into his books with other purposes than those of criticism, and, after their perusal, not only to write, but to live better !"

Bishop Wilson's literary talents were the least of his merits ; as an author he can hardly take his place by the side of Taylor, or Barrow, or Sherlock, the masters of Israel. His productions are all principally remarkable for their purity of feeling and amenity of manner ; his warnings to repentance are the persuasions of a parent ; his words of peace are the comfortings of a brother. Every thing he uttered came unadulterated from the heart. His *Sacra Privata* form a heavenly book, and the tears have been dried in many a mourner's eyes by the mild and tender spirit of merciful pity which speaks in every page.

We look upon the work as on the religious journal of the writer's life ; the record of his daily communings with God, when " he entered into his closet and shut to the door," and lifted up

his voice to Him who "seeth in secret." Well may Mr. Hone exclaim, that—

"The good bishop, though dead, still speaketh; his voice is still heard in accents of counsel and comfort; he humbles the readers to dust with a sense of sin, makes them feel the need of a saviour, and gladdens them with tidings that God has actually provided for their need; he leads them on from strength to strength, renewing their humble confidence in Christ, and giving fresh fervour to their prayers for such a measure of God's praise as may prepare them, before they go hence, for the glorious company of the redeemed, by changing them into the image of Christ."

The old age of this venerable disciple was full of honour; the tree showed by its verdure that it had been planted by the waters of life. In 1795, when he was seventy-two years old, the bishop made his last visit to England, and a delightful anecdote is preserved of his reception at court by George the Second and his consort.

"He came into the drawing-room in his usual simple dress, having a small black cap on the top of his head, with his hair flowing and silvery, and his shoes fastened with leathern thongs instead of buckles. His appearance excited some surprise, and joined with his well-known piety and virtues awakened feelings of the deepest veneration. It is related that as soon as he entered the presence-chamber, the king, stepping out of the circle of his courtiers, and advancing towards the bishop, took him by the hand, and said: 'My lord, I beg your prayers.' Nor was the queen less impressed with reverence for his character; she wished to keep him in England, and with that view offered him translation. One day when she was conversing with him, she turned round to her levee, and said, 'See here, my lords, is a bishop who does not come for translation!' 'No, and please your majesty,' was his remark, 'I will not in my old age leave my wife because she is poor.'"—p. 240.

Mr. Hone was very happy in his choice of Evelyn for his "*Lives of Eminent Christians*," for in him we do, indeed, behold "the man of taste, the philosopher, and the acquaintance of princes, bowing at the foot of the cross, desiring to walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless, and confessing that the Gospel of Christ is his comfort, his pleasure and his glory." In his life also, piety wears so sweet and unassuming an aspect, and mingles so unaffectedly in all his joys and sorrows, prosperity and disappointments, that she cannot fail of winning many hearts. The religion of Evelyn is neither morose, nor bigoted, nor fanatical: he was not afraid to worship the Almighty in the beauty of his works. He may be said with truth to have looked from nature up to nature's God, for the mighty forest and the humbler garden were equally his delight. The yellow prim-

rose by the river's brim was more than "a yellow primrose to him," for he discovered in it the workmanship of a Divine Architect, and recognized the power of the Deity in the smallest drop of silver dew that glittered on its bosom. His early days were passed in the beautiful scenery of his father's estate at Wotton. "The house," he says, "is large and ancient, and so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgment of strangers, as well as Englishmen, it may be compared to one of the most pleasant seats in the nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous. It has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water in abundance." Here, amid the gardens, fountains and groves by which the mansion was adorned, young Evelyn imbibed the love of rural pursuits and country pleasures which imparted so healthful a tone to his future life, and which never forsook him. It was, therefore, a cause of great rejoicing to him when he was enabled to purchase the sequestered estate of his father-in-law, Sir Richard Brown, at Sayes Court, near Deptford. To this "green retreat" he retired from the tumult of the world, beguiling his time with the conversation of his religious and literary friends, and in the bosom of an affectionate family.

" Friends, books, a garden, and perhaps his pen,  
Delightful industry employed at home;  
And nature, in her cultivated trim,  
Dress'd to his taste, inviting him abroad :—  
Could he want occupations who had these?"

The tastes of his wife, whom he had married at a very early age, were in perfect harmony with his own: she was his companion in the study and the garden, aiding and cheering him in all his occupations. On his arrival at Sayes Court he found nothing there, to borrow from the narrative of his present biographer, but a "rude orchard;" the rest of the estate was "one entire field of a hundred acres." His first step was to set out "an oval garden," which, he says, was "the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures and plantations there." Soon after he laid out an orchard, and in the course of time planted "every hedge and tree, not only in the gardens and groves, but about all the fields and house, since 1653, except those large, old and hollow elms in the stable-yard; for it was before all one pasture field to the very garden of the house, which was but small. From which time," Evelyn adds, "I repaired the ruined house, and built the whole end of the kitchen, the chapel, buttery, my study above and below, cellars, and all the outhouses and walls, still-house, orangery, and made the garden, &c., to my great cost."

The principles of ornamental gardening, Mr. Hone remarks, which now give beauty to our country villas, were not understood in those times. Art had not yet been placed under the tuition of nature, but the taste of the English (agreeing with that of the Italians and French) was pleased with long straight walks and flower-beds cut out in corresponding figures—round, square and oval—with evergreens cut into fantastic shapes, and clipped hedges to form the boundary. Milton alone, says Horace Walpole, seems with the prophetic eye of taste to have conceived, to have foreseen modern gardening; and in describing Eden, he speaks of the river which, with many a rill, watered the garden, and fed

“ Flowers worthy of Paradise, *which not nice art*  
*In beds and curious knots*, but nature boon  
 Pour’d forth.”

We think these lines go to establish the converse of the argument pursued by Walpole, and adopted by Mr. Hone; for though the poet does somewhat disprovingly allude to the “nice art” which shaped the flowers into “beds and curious knots,” yet the garden which he goes on to portray as a place “of various view,” with “lawns on level downs” interspersed among “groves of rich trees,” with caves

“ Of cool recess, o’er which the mantling vine  
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps  
 Luxuriant,”

is not in reality a garden answering to the modern idea attached to the expression. It is, in fact, such a scene as might have been suggested to the mind of Milton by some romantic vision of luxuriance in Italy. Be this as it may, the garden at Sayes Court was as stiff as any of its contemporaries, of which the reader may soon satisfy himself by referring to the picture of a similar garden at Wotton, given in Evelyn’s *Memoirs*. But if it be faulty in the eyes of a modern critic, it was not so in the estimation of its amiable artist. Here he employed himself in cultivating his flowers, with an enthusiasm which induced the poet Cowley to say, that he knew no person who derived more happiness from a garden. Here too the materials of some of his most valuable works were collected. A study of the “trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste,” enabled him gradually to prepare his *Sylva*; and his orchard furnished him with the facts he afterwards embodied in his *Pomona*. To prove that he was not above the humblest office of a gardener, he wrote also *A Discourse on Salads*. It is gratifying to know that his piety grew with his rural learning.

“It is,” he says, “a transporting consideration to think that the in-

finitely wise and glorious Author of Nature has given to plants such astonishing properties: such fiery heat in some to warm and cherish; such coolness in others to temper and refresh; such pinguid juice in others to nourish and feed the body; such quickening acids to compel the appetite, and grateful vehicles to court the obedience of the palate; such vigour to support and renew our natural strength; such ravishing flavour and perfumes to recreate and delight us; in short, such spirituous and active force to animate and revive every faculty and part, to all the kinds of human, and I had almost said, heavenly capacity too."

That agreeable gossip Pepys, who was an intimate friend of Evelyn, calls this garden "a most beautiful place," and "a lovely noble ground," and particularly mentions, "among other rarities, a hive of bees, so as being hived in glass, you may see the bees making their honey and combs mighty pleasantly." This was the glass hive which had been given to Evelyn at Oxford, by his friend "the universally curious Dr. Wilkins." Evelyn entertained a high opinion of Pepys, who deserved it; but there was much to provoke a smile in his character. His Diary is one of the most amusing books in the language—every thing is natural and warm from the heart. Upon the doctrine of a sermon and the colour of a bonnet, he is equally in earnest.

His scrutiny into the various ornaments of the female costume has the acuteness of an official from a "*Magasin des Modes*;" he dwells with rapture upon Lady Castlemain's silk scarf, and is particular in committing accurately to paper the intelligence that Mrs. Steward was "very fine with her locks done up with puffs." His own dress was the subject of frequent study and self-congratulation. From the tone of many parts of his diary, the reader would suppose him to have been secretary to the draper's company. Within the brief limits of eight days we find the following important entries:—*July 5, 1660. This morning my brother Thomas brought me my jackanapes coat with silver buttons. July 10. This day I put on my new silk suit, the first that ever I wore in my life. On the 13th we are introduced to a rival of the jackanapes and silk. Up early, the first day that I put on my black camlet cloak with silver buttons.*

He is every thing by turns, and nothing long; one moment we leave him at the bookseller's buying the "*New edition of Hooker's Polity*;" and in the next line we are astonished to see himself and his wife at the theatre, spectators of the "*Silent Woman*." Even while alarmed at the successes of the Dutch, he found time to admire the new chariot of Sir William Pen, and declared it the most fashionable yet used by that gentleman. But with all his vanity and trifling minuteness, the gossip of Pepys was the gossip of a gentleman, often, too, redeemed by touches of natural

tenderness, and unpretending piety. He could lie in his comfortable bed in the time of his prosperity, thinking over the period when his poor wife used to make coal fires, and wash his clothes with her own hand "in the little room at my Lord Sandwich's," and not only love her for what she had done, but console himself with the belief that she would do it again, were circumstances to render it necessary. His manners were amiable and endeared him to all his friends. Evelyn says that he was "universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation."

The old age of Evelyn cannot be described in any language more graceful or touching than Mr. Hone's.

Mr. Evelyn outlived many of his dearest friends; his brothers, his sisters, and all his children, save one, were no more, and the friendships formed in the earlier part of his life were now pretty nearly extinct. Mr. Boyle, "that pious, admirable Christian and excellent philosopher," who "honoured him with his particular esteem for nearly forty years," died in December, 1690. Most of the original members of the Royal Society had left him behind. And among his religious acquaintance, few of those whom he speaks of in terms of affection remained. Bishop Gunning, whose whole character he admired, and Bishop Earle, "a most humble, meek, but cheerful man, an excellent scholar, and rare preacher, universally beloved for his sweet and gentle disposition," by whom Evelyn "had the honour to be loved," had long before him exchanged time for eternity; and more recently Dr. Bathurst died (May 1704,) "the oldest acquaintance," he says, "now left me in the world:" "this," he adds, "is a serious alarm to me; God grant that I may profit by it." His father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, had been many years gathered to his fathers. The harp of Cowley was silent; and many others whose society he had cultivated for their elegant tastes and accomplishments had gone to give their account.

He had also mourned for the loss of the pious, excellent, and virtuous Lady Mordaunt, "his long acquaintance, a blessed creature, and one that loved and feared God exemplarily." And in the death of another lady he had occasion to lament for "the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever lived." This was Mrs. Godolphin, who died in 1678, at the early age of twenty-six. "Never, he says, was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship; never a more religious, discreet, and admirable creature; beloved of all, admired of all, for all possible perfections of her sex. \* \* How shall I ever repay the obligations to her for the infinite good offices she did my soul, by so oft engaging me

to make religion the terms and tie of the friendship there was between us! we often prayed, visited the sick and miserable, received, read, discoursed, and communicated in all holy offices together. She was most dear to my wife and affectionate to my children. But she is gone! This only is my comfort, that she is happy in Christ, and I shall shortly behold her again."

With so much diligence did this Christian pilgrim trim his lamp, increasing in hope, and joy, and holy delight, as he drew nearer the threshold of his everlasting home. "On entering his eighty-fourth year," says Mr. Hone, "he looked back with thankfulness upon the mercies of God, and particularly expressed his gratitude for his exemption from so many of the sorrows common to old age; he also prayed for pardon of his sins, and for grace to prepare him for a better life." Soon after, on a Sunday when the wet and uncomfortable weather prevented him from attending church, his good friend Dr. Bohun "officiated in the family and made an excellent discourse on 1 Cor. xv. 55, 56,—Of the vanity of this world, and uncertainty of life, and the inexpressible happiness and satisfaction of a holy life, with pertinent inferences to prepare us for death, and a future state." "I gave him thanks," he adds, "and told him I took it kindly as my funeral sermon." But he lived to see two birthdays more, continuing to the very last to number his days so that he may apply them to wisdom, until at length, full of years and full of virtues, he "fell asleep on the 27th of February, 1706," and directed this beautiful aphorism to be inscribed upon his tomb—"That all is vanity which is not honest, and that there is no solid wisdom but in real piety."

In the portrait of Evelyn he is represented holding a copy of his "*Sylva*" in his hand, and it is by this work that his literary fame will be preserved. The "*Sylva*" was originally a paper read before the Royal Society, and Mr. Hone might have added that it was the first book published by that body; its effect upon the popular mind more than realized the most ardent expectations of the author. Mr. Hone has quoted a passage from Wither's "*Emblems*," in which that poet complains of the "havoc and the spoil" then made in every part of the island among the "woods and the groves." Wither was an enthusiast in the admiration of wood scenery, and often took occasion to deplore the destruction of the rich beech-woods of his native village. The desolating civil war, and the consequent anarchy and depression, had contributed to increase the ravages of time and decay. The old forests were rapidly disappearing from the face of the country; Evelyn derived great satisfaction from the success of his work. "Infinitely beyond my expectations," he says in one of his letters, "it has been the occasion of propagating many mil-



lions of useful timber trees throughout this nation, as I may justify without immodesty, from the many letters of acknowledgment received from gentlemen of the first quality, and others altogether strangers to me. His Majesty Charles the Second was sometimes graciously pleased to take notice of it to me, that I had by that book alone, incited a world of planters to repair their broken estates and woods, which the greedy rebels had wasted and made such havoc of."

Evelyn felt like a man who knew himself to be a benefactor of his country. While Britain retains her awful situation among the nations of Europe, remarks Mr. d'Israeli, the *Sylva* of Evelyn will endure with her triumphant oaks. It was an author, he adds, in his studious retreat, who, casting a prophetic eye on the age we live in, secured the late victories of our naval sovereignty. Inquire at the Admiralty how the fleets of Nelson have been constructed, and they can tell you that it was with the oaks which the genius of Evelyn planted.

We must bring these observations to an abrupt conclusion. It will have been seen that we think highly of the volume which has occasioned them. It is gracefully and unassumingly written, and presents in an attractive form the histories of men whose names can only perish with their land's language. If we were inclined to make any objection to the style, we might say in the words of Quarles, that the writer has "imped his wings too much with the church's feathers;" that the diction, to speak more plainly, is too deeply imbued in gospel phraseology. We know that what we may consider a defect will be esteemed by others, and we are willing to conceive, abler judges, a laudable merit. Mr. Hone's taste will be his best guide.

Of the "getting up" of this volume, or of the portraits which adorn it, it is unnecessary to say more than that they are excellent, and reflect great credit upon the publisher.

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ART. IX. *An Address delivered on laying the first Stone of the New King's Weigh-House, a place of worship intended for the use of a Congregational Church.* By T. Binney. London: Jackson and Walford. 1833.

WITH parties as with armies, in civil as in military affairs, the movements of one side must be partly regulated by the movements of the other. When churchmen, therefore, talk of the conduct proper to be observed with respect to separatists from the Church, the question turns mainly upon this preliminary inquiry, what are the views and intentions, what are the opinions,

and what are the demands, of the Dissenters? Hence with us a fair and authentic account of the principles and feelings of the seceders has long been a *desideratum*. It is here supplied. We may truly say that we have now before us "*dissent delineated*," by a dissenter, in very plain and forcible colours. And we think the more of the picture thus presented, that it is contained not in an elaborate and guarded treatise, but in an occasional "address," thrown off by the impulses of the man, no less than his convictions. It comes fresh from the heart of the individual : and yet it appears, though consisting of but a few pages, in as goodly a quarto shape, as if it had been penned by ten archbishops : and it was spoken on a not unimportant occasion, nor without a certain degree of sanction and authority ; for we are told, in an appendix,

"The preceding Address was delivered on the 16th of October last, on laying the first stone of a new place of worship, intended for the congregational church at present assembling in the King's Weigh-House, Little East Cheap, London. An account of the ceremony, as one interesting to Dissenters, appeared in the "*Patriot*," a weekly paper, conducted by members of that body ; and a report, substantially correct, was given of much that was spoken by me on that occasion. In consequence of this, I had many applications to publish the Address myself, in a separate form, as it was thought appropriate to the present times, and likely to do good ; good, that is, in the estimation of Dissenters."---Appendix, p. 19.

The author's name is T. Binney. We really know not who T. Binney may be ; but our readers will perceive that there is a good deal of strength and freedom in his sentiments ; and they will find occasionally, we imagine, no inconsiderable share of spirit and power in his manner of delivering them. This opportunity we shall afford them at once, by proceeding to quotations ; for our object in the present article is to exhibit *not our own views*, but the views of T. Binney and the sect of which he is the organ : *not what we think of the dissenters, but what the dissenters think of themselves and of the Church*.

The whole address is worthy of attention, as among "the signs of the times ;" but the following extracts, we conceive, must be sufficient to "give us pause," and make us seriously consider what our circumstances are, and what *should* be our conduct under such circumstances.

"We rejoice," says Mr. Binney, "that we are laying the foundation of a building intended neither for the sacrifices of the temple, nor the services of the synagogue ; and that we ourselves are not only delivered from the delusion and vassalage of Gentile superstitions, but that we are raised above whatever distinguished the infancy of the Church, and have

entered into the full possession of the privileges of believers.”—Address, pp. 5, 6.

He proceeds to say, and say in very vigorous and emphatic language,

“ Our desire is to enjoy the light of the truth ourselves, and our ambition to maintain, to exhibit, and diffuse it. The Bible—the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants ;—the Bible—the whole Bible, is the property of the people. We rejoice that on these principles we can take our stand this day. We are laying the first stone, not of a prison in which truth is to be manacled, nor of a show in which she is to be masked ; but of a palace and a home, where she may emit her splendour and develop her virtues. It is matter of thankfulness that we are delivered from the dominion of the ‘ Man of Sin ;’ that we have nothing to do with the yoke of ignorance, but to endeavour to remove it ; and nothing with the ‘ word of life’ and the lamp of knowledge, but ‘ to hold them forth.’ ‘ The candle of the Lord’ is lighted in our tabernacle, and we have no desire to conceal it by the ‘ bushel’ or the ‘ bed.’ We are free from the usurpation of Antichrist—the imposture and priestcraft of past ages ; and we exult in the thought that we are met this morning to lay the foundation of an edifice sacred to the inculcation of Christian truth, as well as to the exercise of Christian devotion.

“ In laying the foundation of a structure, dedicated not only to Christian and Protestant worship, but to worship to be conducted by Protestant dissenters, it becomes us to rejoice, as such, in the liberty which it is at present our privilege to enjoy. There have been periods in the history of our country, when we dared not to have engaged in the public services of this day. It would have been madness to have attempted it. The ceremony would have been a crime punishable by law ; it would have been regarded as an outrage on the constituted order of things, and have been thought an insult equally to the King in heaven and the king upon earth. The fact is, the principle of persecution was formerly common to all sects. The Catholics persecuted the Protestants ; the Protestants the Catholics ; and one class of Protestants another. The rights of conscience and of man were understood and respected by none of them. The nature of religion was misconceived, and the authority of the magistrate misapplied. All the evils of persecution have arisen from the notion, *fundamentally false, but once universally admitted*, that religion is to be established and supported by the State, and the power of the sword used for the extirpation of error, heresy, and schism. This has been the fruitful source of every enormity. *Had Christianity never been allied to the State, persecution never could have existed or prevailed.* Rival sects might have reasoned against or ridiculed each other ; they might have argued or declaimed, exhausted the resources of logic or the vocabulary of reproach : nothing of this kind would have drawn blood ; and, had they dared to draw it by other weapons, the ‘ powers that be,’ and that are ‘ ordained of God to be the ministers of good,’ would have then interposed, in their proper character and legitimate function, to compel them ‘ to keep the peace,’ and to

punish them for the commission of outrage and violence. All would have been equally protected from the infliction of 'wrong and wicked lewdness;' the magistrate would not have been a judge 'in other matters' beyond his province; and hence persecution, had it thus accidentally appeared, must soon have subsided from the absence of that which is essential to its support. It is only when the contest is unequal, and carried on with other weapons besides reason and argument,—only when one sect is elevated above the rest, and is aided and backed by the civil arm, that persecution is possible or likely to be permanent. The lawfulness and necessity, however, of this aid and alliance, and the vigorous use of the power it conferred, was (*were*) once universally admitted and desired, and hence different sects were each and equally persecutors in their turn. The sufferings of many neither enlightened nor softened them. They oppressed when they had power—they complained when they were oppressed—and when power returned they oppressed again. Among Protestants this was especially the case with the Episcopalians and Presbyterians; and it should never be forgotten, in recollecting the wrongs of our fathers, that the adherents of 'prelacy,' as such, furnished their confessors and martyrs in the days of confiscation, proscription, and blood. The Independents were unquestionably the first who, as a body, advocated a generous and impartial toleration; and if, when in power, they acted inconsistently by excepting 'prelacy and popery,' it should be remembered that it *was* inconsistent—that it was opposed to the wishes of their leaders, and that it was occasioned by the influence of other sects, since they never acted exclusively and alone. To them, under God, we are indebted, as a nation, for whatever of civil or religious liberty we enjoy. We breathe that liberty to-day. Our ecclesiastical ancestors, the founders and fathers of this church, for nearly twenty years after its formation, could only meet for worship in comparative secrecy; it was an object with them to be unobserved; their assembling together was illegal; they were safe only by connivance, for they were deprived of civil security and protection. We rejoice in our altered circumstances. We exult in the thought that we can come forth and lay the foundation of our future sanctuary in the face of day, in the presence of numbers, and under the canopy of heaven. We stand, in many respects, on an equal footing with the rest of the community; and the day *will* come when not a vestige of past oppression shall remain. The principles advocated by our ancestors have been gradually acquiring strength and ascendancy; they are beginning to be universally recognized and diffused. *The truth has gone forth—the fundamental and formidable truth—fundamental as the basis of religious freedom; formidable, from its simplicity, to the mightiest strongholds of religious intolerance; the truth has gone forth,—that the civil magistrate is not appointed of God for the purpose of saving men's souls, but of protecting each equally in saving his own; that his province is not to preside over the church, nor to modify nor manage it; that he is not required to legislate about her doctrines and ceremonies, to determine respectively the true and the becoming; but that, leaving these to be settled by men and by churches for themselves, he is to*

*extend to all the shield of his protection, so long as they entrench not on the rights and liberties of each other, and to exert for any the vigour of his arm, if it can prove that it suffers in either from the usurpation of the rest.*"—pp. 6—8.

The next extract awakens in our own minds, we freely confess, some very acute feelings of pain and regret. There is no spectacle more melancholy than to see members and even ministers of the Church of England flinging at each other the harshest terms, and imputing to each other the most grievous errors and deficiencies, and then dissenters stepping in to take advantage of their mutual accusations.

"The fact is, (speaking without a figure,) that all churches are necessarily exposed to the inroads of error. In spite of acts of parliament, creeds and subscriptions, the *Church of England is the most discordant and divided Christian denomination in the land. The most opposite and conflicting opinions are professed and inculcated by her sons,—by men who have solemnly signed the very same identical declarations.* The clergy are separated into parties; the pretence that uniformity exists among them is a pretence, and nothing more; and every man knows it to be so who has an eye to observe, or an ear to hear, or a head to think; and every such man will admit the assertion, who has honesty to acknowledge what he cannot but perceive. And these differences of opinion are not confined to minor and insignificant matters, but, *upon the showing, and according to the current language of some of the clergy themselves, enter into the very essentials and fundamentals of the faith. Hence it is customary for them to speak of large tracts of the country in which there is only here and there a solitary clergyman who 'preaches the gospel'; and this man is often represented as despised by his brethren, and persecuted by his neighbours, for his adherence to the truth.* Hence, too, we hear of the 'gospel' (the *gospel*, observe,) being 'introduced' into a place in which it had not been declared for thirty, or fifty, or a hundred years. By such facts, incessantly obtruded on our attention, we are given to understand that *anti-evangelical clergymen* are an overwhelming majority. If any of an opposite character are elevated and dignified, the wonder is announced with triumph and trumpets, and we are thus left to the natural inference that, in the high places of the Establishment, spiritual religion is the exception and not the rule. Among the mass of the body it is said to be the same. And yet these men are patronised and supported as the legal and authorized instructors of the people; the only persons whose orders are valid, and whose ministry is apostolical; and who are therefore regarded with a blind sentiment of veneration and respect. Let this system, then, be contrasted with the history of *anti-evangelical dissent.* A minister of our order becomes a 'denier of fundamental doctrines;' the consequence is, that he is instantly discountenanced and proscribed: he drags on for a while a heartless existence, by the aid of some slender endowment; one by one his attendants retire, till, at length, the sanctuary comes to look like a sepulchre, and is at last converted to some secular use; while, in the

mean time, the active and imperishable principles of our faith spring up under the cultivation of other labourers, and flourish in new and multiplied churches. In the Establishment it is just the contrary. A sort of immortality is conferred on ignorance, imbecility, and error: however dangerous and destructive the doctrines of the minister, he continues to be held up as the legal and legitimate guide of the flock, while the people, perishing and dying, have no power within their own parish to provide themselves with truth on their own principles. The church, though deserted and desolate, stands—stands as a building—the *only authorized provision for instruction and worship, though it presents nothing but the monument and the mockery of both.* The principle of dissent compels the evil to cure itself: the principle of the Establishment perpetuates and protects it. With us the faith flourishes, though the machinery decays; with our brethren *the machinery is preserved at the expense of the faith.* We rejoice this day that the faith of our fathers is among us in its integrity and vigour; we hope to leave it as an inheritance to our children; and we trust they will retain and transmit it inviolate to theirs; but if not, we rejoice in the reflection that the principles of our communion will confer upon others the liberty and the power, without waiting for the leave of civil or ecclesiastical superiors, to fill up the place of our degenerate descendants.”—pp. 9, 10.

Mr. Binney's next *slap* is in the next sentence.

“The structure, of which the first stone has been now laid, will be built and paid for by voluntary contributions. In this circumstance we feel that at all times, but especially in times like these, we are permitted to rejoice with an honest joy. We indulge, this day, feelings of pure and enviable independence. *We build what is intended for ourselves and for our children.* We have no power to compel others, who dissent from us as much as we do from *them*, to build an edifice they would never enter. We trust we have not the will, if we had the power, and that, if the power were offered to be conferred, we should have the virtue to refuse it.”—p. 10.

The following declarations are at least intelligible, whatever we may think of their candour or their charitableness:

“I know that a proceeding opposite to ours is advocated and enforced on the principle of expediency, a principle which, when properly explained, I recognize and admit. It is said that if a person goes forth ‘armed’ with the principle of an Establishment which is, ‘that all men shall be compelled to build her churches and pay her ministers,’ it is said, that such a person would have his way clear, and that his course would necessarily be short and successful. We admit it. ‘*Armed with all the power of the State, which means, all the strength of its armies, and all the force of its police, and all the terror of its prisons, certainly, such a man might make short work of his mission with a vengeance.* It would be the shortest way of filling the land with churches in the length and the breadth of it. But, would it also be the most just, and proper, and becoming? Especially if these structures were reared

for the exclusive services of one sect, in a nation where the combined numbers of the other sects are probably the majority? Would such a proceeding be not only 'short and successful,' but would it be consistent with the nature of religion, the nature of man, the rights of conscience, and the law of God? No: and I believe that enlightened and purified reason, as possessed either by angels or men, nay, the very bosom of God, the throne and sanctuary of eternal rectitude, echoes the negation. We are acting, this day, on the opposite principle to that which we condemn; and we feel that neither our consciences nor our countrymen can reproach us for what forms the *moral foundation* of the edifice we erect. The sentiments we advocate will one day be universally admitted. They may be summed up in an aphorism like this—one which in its spirit and essence is now traversing the land, and hourly acquiring vigour and ascendancy: '*As in civil affairs, according to the principles of the British constitution, taxation without representation is tyranny, so in religion, compulsory payments to a church from which we conscientiously dissent, is of the nature of persecution; and the exclusive patronage by the State of one sect is injustice.*'"—pp. 11, 12.

It will be seen, that in laying the first stone of the "New King's Weigh-House," (what a strange name for a place of worship,) one object with Mr. Binney and his friends is, to include as many dissenters as possible, and array them as much as possible in opposition to the Church.

"Every teacher who inculcates the fundamentals of the gospel will be welcome to the pulpit, and every disciple who credibly adheres to the same principles will be welcome at the table in that house, the foundation of which is laid this day. The *evangelical Episcopalian*, the orthodox Presbyterian, the individual or personal Baptist, the Methodist, and the Quaker, may each occupy the place of instruction: *we agree in essentials*, and we can welcome, as the servants of the same Lord, all who, with some subordinate peculiarities, equally honour, confide in, and confess him. We will not hold communion either with the world on the one hand, or with the deniers of fundamental truth on the other; but 'all who hold the Head,' and who evince their faith by their works, will receive from us the hand of fellowship and the 'cup of salvation.' 'Grace be with all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' I should be ashamed if I were laying the foundation of a building in which none could be recognized as teachers or disciples but the ministers and members of one sect. *I could not lift my head in society* if friends and brethren were not only debarred 'the liberty of prophesying,' but were denied the privilege of committing to their father's sepulchre their spiritual children, the members of another communion, but whose family resting-place might be connected with ours. And still more, if the building and the burying-ground were national property, created by taxes levied on the public, and yet restricted to the use of one denomination; *I should experience irrepressible anguish*, if I, in the

circumstances supposed,—I, who might be to the afflicted family an entire stranger, with no knowledge of the dead and no sympathy with the living, if I were compelled to take the place of the minister of the departed, while he stood by, silent and sorrowful, enduring the injury of ecclesiastical insult in addition to that of political injustice.”—p. 14.

So much for his “Address.” In his Appendix, however, T. Binney is at us again. And, first of all, he makes a rather truculent attack upon a man whom we shall not stop either to praise or defend, because he is well able to take care of himself against half a thousand T. Binneys, we mean Dr. Chalmers, who is courteously designated as

“*The Scottish churchman, who practised a sort of fraud on the mixed congregation assembled in Regent Square, by delivering a lecture on establishments instead of a sermon, and who, in the course of it, talked in his usual style about ‘sectarists,’ and ‘sectarians,’ and ‘private adventurers.’*”—p. 19.

Soon afterwards we have T. Binney’s representation of the true *euthanasia* of the Church.

“It is at present universally felt, that the time is at hand when the Establishment must undergo a thorough sifting; the abstract principle on which it rests be discussed in Parliament; and the absolute dissolution of Church and State sought, and perhaps obtained. Dissent and the Establishment will then die together—die on the same day. The terms and things are relative; the end of one will be the termination of both. The day that witnesses this will be a bright and blessed one.”—p. 20.

We have now, probably, quoted enough; some of our readers may think that we have quoted too much, and that we attach a most undue importance to this *trade* of T. Binney. Certainly, he is not polite; he does not mince matters; but there are many things for which we like him. We like him for the vigorous idiomatic English of his style: we like him for his downright-ness; we like him for the manly and straightforward determination with which he deals his blows. He does not keep us in doubt or in suspense: he tells us at once what we have to expect.

Again, we like him for the honest explicitness of the following avowals:

“Churchmen and dissenters have an equal right to advocate what they respectively approve, and to expose and condemn what they respectively reject. For one sermon or tract published by dissenters in support of dissent, a dozen may be found published by churchmen in support of the Church, published by individuals, voluntarily, or in consequence of episcopal and archidiaconal visitations, and by



the 'Society for promoting Christian Knowledge:' these latter in hundreds and thousands. I have no fault to find with this. I think it right for every man, and every body of men, to endeavour, by all possible means, universally to establish those principles of ecclesiastical polity which they consider to be intimately connected with the purity of the church and the welfare of the world; only let the 'Society' just mentioned be careful that its portraiture of Methodism and dissent display something like 'Christian knowledge,' and not downright heathenish ignorance. Truth cannot be injured by fair and full discussion, and by open and uncompromising statements. I have no hesitation about saying that I am an enemy to the Establishment; and I do not see that a churchman need hesitate to say that he is an enemy to dissent. Neither of us would mean the *persons* of churchmen or dissenters, nor the episcopal or other *portions* of the universal church; but the *principle* of the national religious establishment, which we should respectively regard as deserving, universally, opposition or support. It is with me, I confess, a matter of deep, serious, religious conviction, that the Established Church is a great national evil; that it is an obstacle to the progress of truth and godliness in the land; that it destroys more souls than it saves; and that, therefore, its end is most devoutly to be wished by every lover of God and man. Right or wrong, this is my belief; and I should feel not the slightest offence if a churchman were to express himself to me in precisely the same words with respect to dissent. *We know very well that we do thus actually differ in opinion, and it would be very foolish for either to be offended because the other expresses it. We are bound, each of us, to adopt those principles which we conscientiously consider to be true, and we are equally bound, in proportion to our ability, to defend and diffuse them.*"—p. 20.

With the latter part of these statements we entirely agree; and although we have no leisure at present to measure swords and do battle with T. Binney, we beg to say that we merely reserve the doctrines which he advocates for a very free discussion at some future opportunity, and in the mean time to assure him that it is merely from a very consolatory conviction of the feebleness of his arguments, as compared with the fierceness of his invectives, that we leave him now in the quiet possession of our own field.

It may be also, that we entertain a secret kindness for him; because he alludes with favour to some lucubrations of our own, promulgated in the last number of this review.

"Among recent recommendations, I observe that the Clergy, and the friends of the Church, are told to depend on themselves, and to do two things—'to gain the people,' and 'to use the press.' I think this advice good. The people, the mass of active, intelligent, and reflecting men, that compose the middle classes of the country, are those against whose enlightened opinion nothing in future can be expected to prevail; the

reign of prescription has passed, or is passing. As to the press, its power is immense; and, when properly employed, is laudable and legitimate. It is open to all parties, may be used in a variety of ways, and can adapt itself to all conditions of society, and to all classes of minds."—p. 21.

Yet there may be some treachery in these commendations: for we find them made subservient to the introduction of a most lamentable complaint. T. Binney proceeds:—

"It behoves us, however, to take care that we abuse not this mighty engine of evil and of good. Some of the dutiful sons of the Establishment seem to me to suffer their zeal to get the better of both their honour and their discretion. A printed paper—(the 'friends of the Church' are recommended the vigorous use of the press)—a printed paper, of which the following is a copy, inclosed in a blank cover, has been lately sent to some of the Dissenters of the metropolis; *sent by post, the letters unpaid, the charge ten pence*, the address apparently in the handwriting of a gentleman!

"*History of Dissent from the Bible, and God's disapproval of it.*

"The Devil was the first Dissenter in heaven.—Where is he now?

"Cain was the first Dissenter on earth.—He slew his brother.

"Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, were Dissenters in the time of Moses.—The earth opened, and swallowed them up.

"Saul, King of Israel, usurped the priest's office, and his kingdom was taken from him."—p. 21.

With more of the same kind: upon which Mr. Binney remarks

"Now, I call this an unfair use of the press, and of the *post* too. The Churchman wields the power, and the Dissenter, *as usual*, is to pay for being insulted. As to the paper itself, it is pure nonsense. It reminds one of the manner of South,—a man of surpassing arrogance and malignity, and may probably be taken from his writings."—p. 22.

We pass by his estimate of South: but, as we spoke of the "*Friends of the Church*," we here assure him that we disclaim *such* friends: not so much out of sympathy, (though we do heartily sympathise) with himself and his brethren for their loss of ten pence a-piece, as out of regard to the Church, which may suffer infinite injury and discredit by the circulation of papers so injudicious and so preposterous in the present aspect of her affairs. We repudiate the miserable trash, for such it is, come from whatever quarter and whatever source it may. We join most cordially with Mr. Binney in declaring—"This is not the way in which *such* questions can be settled."

Even in the passage, with which Mr. Binney closes his appendix, there is much which meets with our entire concurrence: and the whole of it is formed of "stern" and weighty "stuff." Mr. Binney knows, as we know, that a battle is at hand.

“ But,” he asks, “ what will the battle be about? and between whom will it be fought? It will not be about any particular plan of ecclesiastical reform; for *on whatever it may commence, it will come, I apprehend, to a struggle on the principle itself of an exclusive Establishment.* It will not be between Churchmen and Dissenters; but between both and the legislature, or between them *through* the legislature. *No plan of church reform will ever satisfy either party.* If I were a Churchman, I should contend against any latitudinarian alterations, by which the Establishment should be permitted to continue, but be made large enough to admit all other sects; and, as a Dissenter, I should say, that I have nothing primarily to do with those improvements in the articles or offices of the Church, which her children may regard as important to themselves. On the first supposition, if I found the Government about to adopt such alterations, I should beseech it rather to abandon us entirely, to give us up, to let us alone, to suffer us to become an episcopal sect, with the power and liberty possessed by others, of conducting our own affairs, of regulating our religious matters like religious men, independently of secular control or dictation; and as a Dissenter, I would plainly state, that such supposed alterations are not with us an immediate object, because they would not be to Truth an immediate good. *We wish the entire and absolute dissolution of Church and State; the Establishment, as such, terminated; the episcopal community to become an episcopal denomination, on a perfect equality with every other: then each of them may carry on its own religious reforms for itself, or promote the improvement of the rest by reason and argument; then, all may make such arrangements as they can conscientiously sanction, for the purpose of enjoying mutual communion, without the compromise of principles which they hold to be important.* All sects stand in need of some religious reforms; all may be brought nearer to what a church ought to be than any one of them is at present; but this is their own concern—it is to be done *by* them as churches, and cannot be done *for* them by any secular assembly. All, if placed on a level, would exert an influence, direct or indirect, in promoting the purity and perfection of the rest; and that one, which is now bound, and fettered, and enslaved, would be free to take full and efficient measures for its own. Still more—the question, which is quite distinct from that of establishments, of what kind and degree of aid a government can and may render to Religion, would be discussed with greater likelihood of agreement, when no particular denomination was exclusively patronized or intended to be so. *The dissolution, then of the existing anti-christian ‘alliance’ between Church and State is the object at which Dissenters will aim, and aim at on serious, sacred, religious grounds; identifying it with the honour of God, the peace of his church, and the universal advantage of mankind.* This, however much it may include, is that one thing, which, in the coming conflict, will be sought by them; that which, *whatever else it may ultimately confer,* shall, at once and immediately, secure, from the legislature, *the extinction of compulsory payments to the Establishment; the opening of the Universities to our youth; an alteration in the law of marriage; and an equal right to the use of the national burying grounds, ‘the place,’ with many of us, ‘of our*

fathers' sepulchres.' The battle so much talked of in every church publication which I have lately seen, will unquestionably come to this. *Every pious and every patriotic man should feel that he is not permitted to be neutral. A judgment must be formed, a side taken, and every legitimate weapon appropriated and employed.*"—pp. 23, 24.

*Et dubitamus adhuc?* Here we have the case of the Dissenters strongly put; here we have the sentiments of the Dissenters unequivocally expressed. The Churchman, who *cannot* see their intentions, is a dolt; the Churchman, who *will not* see their intentions is a traitor. At least, it is not Mr. Binney's fault if any single Churchman remains in the dark. Therefore, we repeat, we feel towards him a kind of regard. We respect an open and uncompromising adversary, in the same proportion as we dislike a timorous, or imprudent, or uncertain friend. Mr. T. Binney fairly throws down the gauntlet, and tells us that, as to the principle of our establishment, the combat shall be "*à l'outrance.*" Very well: we are ready to accept the challenge; and we prefer an antagonist who beats his real device upon his shield.

In fact, that this is the real device of *all*, or very nearly all the Dissenters, we have not the shadow of a doubt. For a time some of them may display a less obnoxious emblazonry: but only for a time. To change the figure slightly, they may sail under other colours; but they will hoist the blood-red flag as soon as the battle begins. Thousands speak in Mr. T. Binney. He appears to us the very impersonation of the genius of Dissent. We may be told of divisions among themselves: we may be told of distinctions between the ancient and the modern Dissenters: between the Independents and the Methodists. But, whatever may be their differences, we verily believe that upon the question of establishment or no establishment they are agreed in their hearts: and that they agree with Mr. Binney. If not, let them state their *disagreement*. If not, let the Wesleyan Methodists, for instance, come out and separate themselves from the cause of which Mr. Binney is a champion: they *must* now see what is wanted by another class of Dissenters, which invites them to its pulpits. Let *them* as plainly and unambiguously announce how far *their* designs and *their* wishes go. If they do not desire the destruction of the established Church, let them declare on what terms they are disposed to re-unite themselves with the established Church. "We pause for a reply."

And we turn again, for a single moment to Churchmen, whether of the Laity or of the Clergy. *They* too must see what, and how extensive, are the demands of the Dissenters; what, and how sanguine, are their hopes and expectations. If their hopes were not sanguine, some of their demands would be kept back.

We have brought before every Churchman the clearest and most unexceptionable testimony, because the testimony of Dissenters themselves; and we have studiously abstained from any intermixture of our own opinions. We have only to add, by way of another *new* quotation, "*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*" We are assured that the *Dissenters* will not be satisfied with concession and compromise, and "latitudinarian alterations;" that in matters of faith and discipline (for we are not talking about the smaller matters of Church-rates) the Church will not be allowed to keep half by the surrender of the other half, and therefore, that a remodelling of her liturgy and her articles will weaken herself, and make her weakness known, without obtaining the respect or the adhesion, or even the painful and shameful *pity*, of her enemies. Let Mr. Girdlestone and his school lay this to heart; let Lord Henley and *his* school lay *this* to heart; let Archbishop Whateley and *his* school lay this to heart; let,—but we will not introduce other and greater names, until some real ground of suspicion is attached to them.

The *one* question is, are we disposed to give up the establishment, or are we *not*? If we *are*, there are plenty of guides to show us some easy method, according to the last invention which it is hoped will be honoured with his Majesty's *patent* in the spring. But if we are *not*, how shall we best guard and maintain the establishment. We deliberately re-affirm, not by a spurious conciliation, which is only fear; not by a violent intemperance, which is only another kind of fear; but by a resolute and steady assertion of our principles, by a resolute and steady discharge of our duties. Let all the clergy "*preach the Gospel*;" and act as if they believed and felt the gospel; but let not a part of them go about (as Mr. Binney affirms that they go about) complaining that the majority of their brethren in the ministry "*do not preach the Gospel*;" and oftentimes, we believe, merely because the accused parties are not for ever using the watch-words of a peculiar school; or because they cannot advance the whole length which is required in some abstruse and disputed points relating to baptism and regeneration, and election, and grace. Oh! let not the Church be rent and shattered by these deplorable jealousies; nor let terms, which ought never to have been disconnected, be used as terms of hostility and angry alienation; as if a man was less orthodox, because he was evangelical; or less evangelical, because he was orthodox. Or if shades of difference must exist, in doctrine and in manner (nor do we think their existence fatal in itself,) let both parties in the Church only vie in the glorious contention, which shall be most zealous and without reproach in the

sight of God and man : and thus by their words and works appeal to the good sense and the good feeling of the people of England.

For ourselves, we are quite contented with Mr. Binney's "*exposé*;" but if our readers want more, we refer them to a pamphlet addressed to the Lord Chancellor, and entitled "The Case of the Dissenters." So much for theory. As a *practical postscript* to the speculations of Mr. Binney, let us just look at the proceedings of a parish meeting at Bishopsgate, reported in the Times newspaper of December 13.

"*Tithes.—Meeting of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, Parish.*—A Vestry Meeting of the Parishioners of the above Parish was held last night at the *Parish Church*, pursuant to a Requisition numerously signed, for the purpose of Petitioning Parliament for the Repeal of the Local Church Act of that Parish, *together with all other Acts respecting Tithes and compulsory payments for the support of the Hierarchy.* At six o'clock there were about 300 persons present."

A Mr. Brown makes a furious speech against a "State Church," and concludes by moving—

"That as the important questions of Tithes and other ecclesiastical demands will occupy the deliberations of the Legislature, when they re-assemble, we consider it to be our duty, *not only on our own behalf, but in unison with the majority of the nation, and for the good of posterity,* respectfully to address both Houses of Parliament by petition, *humbly representing the injurious consequences which result from the union of an ecclesiastical establishment with the civil government, and praying that our Local Act for raising customary payments in lieu of tithes in this parish, bearing date the 22d of June, 1825, together with all other acts respecting tithes and compulsory payments for the support of the hierarchy, may be repealed : beseeching them not to be satisfied with any modification of the present system, but to take effectual measures for the entire removal of all such imposts, and the disunion of the hierarchy from the civil government.*"

This precious motion is seconded by a Mr. Jackson. An amendment is proposed in the following terms:—

"That it is not expedient to petition Parliament for the repeal of the Local Act of this parish; and that the repeal of all other acts respecting tithes and compulsory payments for the support of the hierarchy, *would, in the opinion of this vestry, shake the foundation of all property in the kingdom, and work the most flagrant injustice as between man and man.*"

What is the result?

"The amendment was then put. About twelve or fourteen hands were held up in its support. The original motion was next put, and carried by an immense majority of those in the body of the Church. (All those who had no right to vote had been previously ordered to retire to the gallery, or not to hold up their hands.)"

“*Body of the Church*”—“*Gallery of the Church*”—and used for purposes such as these. *Quo ruimus?*

Of course we are not responsible for the correctness of the report. With *that* we have nothing to do. We allude to the meeting, because it exhibits the spirit of a certain class, and not because we conceive its deliberations in themselves more important than its constitution was respectable, or its object was reasonable.

Another gentleman, in proposing the next motion, namely, that a petition to both Houses be founded on the foregoing resolution, which was carried, as far as appears, without a dissentient voice, makes a more direct and particular assault upon the specific contract entered into by the rector and the parishioners in the year 1825.

We merely ask, what *are* clergymen to do under such circumstances? They surrender a legal claim: a local act is substituted, by which both parties are to be solemnly bound. To the parishioners this act is itself a *bonus*:—to the rector a pecuniary loss. But the parishioners, whom in the first instance it obviously benefits, are to be bound by it only just so long as it suits their convenience; and when they think they can obtain better terms by an almost bullying ferocity, they turn round upon their own voluntary, nay *solicited*, engagement, and hold such meetings, and such language, as we have just recorded. We do not talk about expediency, or generosity, or charity, in such a case; the words would be too grossly abused; we do not talk about religion, the word would be too lamentably desecrated; but we simply say, where is the common honesty of such conduct?—where is the good old sterling and once English virtue of pecuniary faith? The instance of Bishopsgate is no solitary instance; at Cripplegate, and many other places, the same thing has been tried. The present, however, is a more open and bare-faced attempt at robbery than its predecessors, and marks the progress of the system. No complaint against the individual incumbent is even hinted; and yet, if the prayer of these petitions should be granted, the result might be, that the Rector of Bishopsgate, who must always be a man of distinguished character and acquirements, or he would not be appointed to so important a charge, instead of receiving £2500 per annum, could not be sure of receiving a farthing. It is well that the *brother of the prime minister* has made his escape in time. We do not speak it in any disparagement; but we know enough to know, that *he* would not have been treated with more tenderness or ceremony than the present able, and excellent, and indefatigable rector.

As to any general system to be adopted by the clergy, we say nothing but this—let them do what is right, with this special and

all-important observance, that they do it *because it is right*, and *not as a concession*. There is no reason why we should give an imposing and insolent hackney-coachman *less* than his fare, because he demands *more*. But let nothing be given merely as to clamorous exaction, or ruffianly menace. It is the duty of a good citizen, *as a citizen*, to defend the general rights of property in his own person, just as, for the common welfare, he would take prompt measures against any dirty little rascal in the streets, who defiles his pocket while he picks it.

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ART. X. — *Sermons*. By Henry Melvill, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and Minister of Camden Chapel, Camberwell. 8vo. London, Rivington, 1833. pp. 379.

WE are very glad to meet with sermons by Mr. Melvill in this legitimate and authorized form. Hitherto we have only seen his name associated, and his discourses mixed up, in the leaves of "The Pulpit," and "The Preacher," with the names and the discourses of sundry "*eminent Divines*"—as they are called by the courtesy of the title-page—whose divinity we question, and whose eminence we have no particular ambition to reach. We have always felt that it was unfair, for many reasons, to judge of Mr. Melvill by the compositions which appeared in any such vehicles of publication. On his account, therefore, and on our own, we hail with pleasure the appearance of this book : and we rejoice to have an opportunity of coming to a definite conclusion upon *data*, quite unimpeachable either in their nature or in their amount.

And yet we hardly know in what light we are to regard Mr. Melvill's sermons, or by what test we are to try them. If we consider them as discourses, like those delivered in the University pulpits, intended for learned and highly educated men, then we must complain of them, for their redundant wordiness, their grievous errors in taste, and the want of purity and chasteness of style which is discernible throughout :—if we consider them as provided for an average congregation, such as a minister of the Church of England usually addresses, we must complain of them, as entering too frequently and too minutely upon points of curious and subtle, if not *rash*, speculation, rather than the plain but ever important topics of Christian truth ; as rather being ambitious displays of the powers of the preacher, than containing the kind of instruction likely to prove most edifying and most valuable in the course of a continued ministration : but our judgment must, we



suppose, be modified by the consideration, that they were delivered in a proprietary chapel, to a miscellaneous congregation, gathered from no particular locality, and composed of persons, entertaining probably no mean opinion of their religious attainments, and, although in a certain, sense "hungering and thirsting after righteousness," hungering for a food which should be at once the most gratifying and the most stimulating.

Now, as we think that the character of Mr. Melvill's discourses has been affected by the circumstance, that they were delivered in Camden Chapel, and not in the Parish Church, we feel it incumbent upon us to say a few words upon such chapels in general. Let us begin by the most distinct and unequivocal declaration, that we ourselves know many able and excellent ministers attached to proprietary chapels, whom we cannot wish to offend, because we hold them in the highest respect, as indeed we hold Mr. Melvill:—and let us allow, that such chapels were useful and even necessary in many crowded districts, before the grant for building new churches had been made; and, therefore, that it may seem to be a species of ingratitude *now* to turn round upon them and decry them, since new churches have been, or, to a certain extent, can be erected. Let us allow, that such chapels were for many years, in neighbourhoods where the population was rapidly increasing, and the number of inhabited houses was multiplied beyond all former calculation, and that, in some peculiar localities, they still are—the only bulwarks between Dissent, on the one hand, and irreligion on the other. But, nevertheless, we must express our conviction, that their principle is fundamentally and radically bad; and, in many points, absolutely hostile to the principle of an established Church. The position of the ministers is different: the method of their appointment is different: the source of their emolument is different:—and, almost always, they are in a greater degree dependent upon the whims and caprices of the *pew-renters*, than subjected to the discipline of the Church, or amenable to the jurisdiction of any Ecclesiastical superior. Their allegiance is at best divided: they have stronger ties than any which can bind them to the established hierarchy:—nay, they have often a pecuniary interest, directly at variance with the prosperity of the parish church in their neighbourhood. Properly, too, they have no cure of souls: no legitimate sphere for the toilsome but unobtrusive ministrations of the week: and as popularity is for them not merely an advantage, but a *necessity*, they are led to subordinate other duties to a peculiar style of preaching, which may bring around them a large and admiring audience. It is no personal reflection, therefore, upon the proprietors and ministers of such chapels, but an effect

arising from the very nature of things, that they are not Chapels of *ease*, or Chapels of *assistance*, but Chapels of *competition*, and Chapels of *rivalry*. Such at least is the *tendency* of the system; though we cheerfully acknowledge that, from the prevalence of Christian charity counteracting these manifest causes of disunion, it is not always the result.

But, again, what are the facts? The Proprietary Chapels—assuredly not all—but a large proportion of them—go half-way towards Dissent. The Liturgy is nothing; and the discourse is every thing. Long extemporaneous prayers are introduced before the sermon, and after the sermon; a congregation is to be enticed by the attraction of *professional singers*; or popular preachers are brought forward, as if they were theatrical *stars*. Minister after minister must be subjected to the degradation of probationary sermons: and the one, who has, we had almost said, the misfortune to be chosen, too often, instead of standing forth as the ambassador of God, is little more than a dependent creature of the man who built the chapel, or the man who bought it. And even in the case, where the ministers are themselves the proprietors, are they not sometimes compelled to assume a tone either oily or outrageous? Is it not difficult to find any extravagance of doctrine, promulgated of late years, which has not had its origin either in a proprietary chapel, or in an evening Lectureship at a church, of which the principle is very nearly the same?

We speak without reserve: because we speak with reference not to particular places of worship, or particular ministers, whose excellence is in every way unquestioned, but to the entire system and principle of proprietary chapels. We would have them all, if it were possible, done away. We think that the Commissioners for building new churches would do a wise thing, when they have funds, to *buy up* these chapels; taking care that the same ministers should be continued in their office, where they had done their duty zealously and conscientiously as orthodox clergymen of the Church of England: but feeling no very painful solicitude, no very keen compunction, if, where they had departed from it, they were dismissed without ceremony. Of this at least we are sure, that neither the Bishop of any diocese, nor the Rector of any parish, will be excusable, in licensing any new Chapel of the kind, without a thorough knowledge of the minister who is to be appointed, and a perfect security that nothing will be said or done, except in strict and literal conformity with the doctrines and discipline of the Established Church.

But we return to Mr. Melvill:—and we should owe him an apology, if any of our readers could suppose that, in mixing up a discussion of proprietary chapels with a review of his discourses,

we deemed him in any way part or parcel of the evils which we have deprecated. Our only feelings, with regard to him, upon the subject are, a feeling of regret, that such a man should be attached to the excrescence, rather than the trunk of the Establishment; and a feeling of conviction, that the character of his publication has been materially deteriorated by the nature of the station which he occupies. Hence, probably, it is, that the twelve addresses before us are hardly so much regular *sermons* as rhetorical exercises, or declamatory harangues. Sometimes, indeed, we cannot help suspecting that into these twelve discourses has been heaped the substance of many others: and thus, perhaps, we may account for their *lengthiness* (to borrow an Americanism), and also for the circumstance, that they are crowded, and occasionally confused. If such be the fact, it is to be lamented: for the sermons would have been better; if the matter and the imagery had been spread over a larger number of divisions, and they had been printed more as Mr. Melvill originally preached them. We proceed, however, to examine them simply upon the ground of their merits as they stand. At the same time we beg to say, that our examination will turn rather upon their literary than their theological or doctrinal peculiarities;—not, assuredly, because we conceive, in common cases, that the literary peculiarities of a sermon are of half so much importance as the theological; but partly because some other incidental topics may be introduced with benefit; and partly because Mr. Melvill's theology is by most persons less considered than his eloquence, and he fills a space in the public eye more as a preacher than as a divine. Of course, however, in forming our general estimate, we shall take *both* the elements of matter and style into our impartial and unbiassed consideration.

Mr. Melvill is, without question, a man of remarkable talent. He possesses reasoning powers of a high order, blended with an imaginative faculty, always alive and always vigorous. If taste and judgment were bestowed upon him in an equal degree, there are very few men of the day whom he might not throw quite into the shade. Mr. Melvill is also reputed to be the most popular preacher of his time in England, and popular in a better sense of the term than when it is applied to the generality of *insinuating* or *fanatic* spouters, who *rant* or *wheelde* for their hour in a fashionable chapel, or a church famous for strong doctrine. Nor is it possible to take up the volume before us without tracing evidences of the diversified endowments of the writer. Many of its pages sparkle with the flashes of real genius: there are, in every one of its sermons, many ingenious, and some profound observations; much of striking metaphor, much of vivid delineation;

many passages of singular force, many touches of true and deep tenderness, many bursts of the most earnest and energetic appeal. But (what a pity it is that the word *but* is necessary) these capital distinctions are marred and counterbalanced by a considerable quantity of faults; although it is a circumstance of happy augury for Mr. Melvill's future career, that they are all of them faults of superfluity, and none of them faults of deficiency. Mr. Melvill never knows when he has said enough, or when he has worked up an image to a pitch sufficiently exalted. In the ascent of his conceptions, he heaps Pelion upon Ossa, until at last he fairly reaches into the clouds. The most obvious drawbacks upon the value of Mr. Melvill's discourses, are a perpetual mannerism, which sometimes degenerates almost into affectation—an excessive verbiage, and a not unfrequent repetition of himself—an utter absence of simplicity and repose, together with a tone of thought almost always upon the verge of enthusiasm, and a tone of language almost always upon the verge of extravagance. It has been said that there is only a step between the sublime and the ridiculous: and yet, in some places, Mr. Melvill manages to hover between the two, without absolutely touching either the one or the other.

We had intended to enumerate among his faults a too close similitude to Dr. Chalmers; but, upon reflection, we will not attempt to strip a man like Mr. Melvill of the praise of originality, although the resemblance is oftentimes discernible upon the most rapid and careless glance: and we really believe that Mr. Melvill has so impregnated his mind with the eloquence of Dr. Chalmers, that he has borrowed many of his phrases and turns of expression, without even being sensible of the appropriation. The topic, however, may seem invidious; and we shall only add our regret that Mr. Melvill, instead of forming himself at all upon the pattern of Dr. Chalmers, had not consulted some of the more ancient models, or studied, day and night, the manner of Robert Hall.

But our readers will not thank us for allegations without proof, whether laudatory or disparaging. We hasten then to make a few extracts, premising that we have chiefly selected them from the more laboured and ornate, and therefore the more characteristic, portions of the volume. For Mr. Melvill's more *level* style certainly does not appear to us to be marked by any peculiar feature of terseness or elegance; and his force is mainly thrown either into the peroration of the whole discourse, or the close of the several departments into which his subject is divided.

The first sermon is entitled "The First Prophecy," and is, perhaps, chiefly conspicuous in certain parts for the *adventurous-*

ness, if the term is legitimate, with which Mr. Melvill soars into the misty and barren regions, where nothing but doubt and disagreement can grow; or dashes upon points not absolutely essential to the faith and conduct of a Christian, but involved in intricacies and obscurities which no industry can hope to unravel in the present state of our finite comprehension. There is also an occasional leaning, we think, to the *fauciful* rather than the *practical*; as for instance:—

“The words, indeed, of our text have a primary application to the serpent. It is most strictly true, that ever since the fall, there has been enmity between man and the serpent. Every man will instinctively recoil at the sight of a serpent. We have a natural and unconquerable aversion from this tribe of living things, which we feel not in respect to others, even fiercer and more noxious. Men, if they find a serpent, will always strive to destroy it, bruising the head in which the poison lies; whilst the serpent will often avenge itself, wounding its assailant, if not mortally, yet so as to make it true that it bruises his heel.”—pp. 2, 3.

Now they who dislike serpents, simply in proportion as they are really hurtful and venomous; and they, who themselves, perhaps, would shudder quite as much at a rat, or a toad, or a spider, may question the unqualified assertion in the former part of this extract; and almost all, we imagine, will feel that there is something forced and far-fetched in the attempt, in the latter part, to press a *close* and *literal* construction of the prophecy.

The same remarks might apply to much of the *second* sermon, which is called “Christ the Minister of the Church.” How *odd*, for instance, must the annexed passage sound to many ears.

“But if a sermon differ from what a *gospel sermon* should be, men will determine that Christ could have had nothing to do with its delivery. Now this, we assert, is nothing less than the deposing Christ from the ministry assigned him by our text. We are far enough from declaring that the Chief Minister puts the false words into the mouth of the inferior. But we are certain, as upon a truth, which to deny is to assault the foundations of Christianity, that the Chief Minister is so mindful of his office, that every man who listens in faith, expecting a message from above, shall be addressed through the mouth, ay, even through the mistakes and errors, of the inferior. And in upholding this truth—a truth attested by the experience of numbers—we simply contend for the accuracy of that description of Christ which is under review. If, wheresoever the minister is himself deficient and untaught, so that his sermons exhibit a wrong system of doctrine, you will not allow that Christ's Church may be profited by the ordinance of preaching, you clearly argue that the Redeemer has given up his office, and that he can no longer be styled the ‘Minister of the true Tabernacle.’ There is no middle course between denying that Christ is the minister, and allowing that, whatever the faulty statements of his ordained servant, no soul

which is hearkening in faith for a word of counsel or comfort, shall find the ordinance worthless, and be sent away empty."—pp. 46, 47.

On this, too, as well as on other grounds, we might dilate upon the *fourth* sermon, which is upon "The Humiliation of the Man Christ Jesus:" but the following quotation must suffice to elucidate our meaning.

"We would pause for a moment in our argument, and speak on the point of the Saviour's humanity. We are told that Christ's humanity was in every respect the same as our own humanity; fallen, therefore, as ours is fallen. But Christ, as not being one of the natural descendants of Adam, was not included in the covenant made with, and violated by, our common forefather. Hence his humanity was the solitary exception, the only humanity which became not fallen humanity as a consequence on Adam's apostasy. If a man be a fallen man, he must have fallen in Adam; in other words, he must be one of those whom Adam federally represented. But Christ, as being emphatically the seed of the woman, was not thus federally represented; and therefore Christ fell not, as we fell, in Adam. He had not been a party to the broken covenant, and thus could not be a sharer in the guilty consequences of the infraction.

"But, nevertheless, whilst we argue that Christ was not what is termed a fallen man, we contend that, since 'made of a woman,' he was as truly 'man, of the substance of his mother,' as any one amongst ourselves, the weakest and most sinful. He was 'made of a woman,' and not a new creation, like Adam in Paradise. When we say that Christ's humanity was unfallen, we are far enough from saying that his humanity was the same as that of Adam before Adam transgressed. He took humanity with all those innocent infirmities, but without any of those sinful propensities, which the fall entailed. There are consequences on guilt which are perfectly guiltless. Sin introduced pain, but pain itself is not sin. And therefore Christ, as being 'man, of the substance of his mother,' derived from her a suffering humanity; but, as 'conceived by the Holy Ghost,' he did not derive a sinful. Fallen humanity denotes a humanity which has descended from a state of moral purity to one of moral impurity. And so long as there has not been this descent, humanity may remain unfallen, and yet pass from physical strength to physical weakness. This is exactly what we hold on the humanity of the Son of God. We do not assert that Christ's humanity was the Adamic humanity; the humanity, that is, of Adam whilst still loyal to Jehovah. Had this humanity been reproduced, there must have been an act of creation; whereas, beyond controversy, Christ was 'made of a woman,' and not created, like Adam, by an act of omnipotence."—pp. 112, 113.

Mr. Melvill then proceeds to present the same ideas in a variety of other shapes, through which we have not room to follow him; but we cannot forbear to hint, that there are several things, both in the *physics* and *metaphysics* of this description, against which an infidel might cavil with some show of justice and

triumph; and that the endeavour thus to clear up the mysteries of our Redeemer's humanity is altogether unsafe—is to be wise beyond what is written—and raises more difficulties than it can ever explain.

Nevertheless, there are magnificent fragments in both these sermons, which hardly any one but Mr. Melvill could have written. And the same may be said of the sermons on "The Doctrine of the Resurrection," and on "The Power of Religion to strengthen the Human Intellect," and on "The Truth as it is in Jesus," and on "The Difficulties of Scripture;" and, indeed, in every one of the twelve sermons which the volume contains.

But, not the less, in every one of the twelve are to be found some, or all, of the faults and drawbacks which we have already enumerated. And so curiously are the faults and beauties intermixed, that we find it almost impossible to disentangle them, and give separate specimens of each. We come to a passage of cogent reasoning, or nervous expression; but it is almost immediately disfigured by the intrusion of some extravagance: we would point out a passage as full of extravagance, but presently we discover imbedded in it some precious stone of brilliant thought or splendid diction. The best and the worst of Mr. Melvill often come together, and are in the strictest *juxta-position*.

The following, in a sermon on "The Power of Wickedness to reproduce itself," although it presents nothing very novel in sentiment, is composed in Mr. Melvill's best style:—

"We are searching for an identity or sameness between what is sown and what is reaped. We, therefore, yet further observe, that it may not be needful that a material rack should be prepared for the body, and fiery spirits gnaw upon the soul. It may not be needful that the Creator should appoint distinct and extraneous arrangements for torture. Let what we call the husbandry of wickedness go forward; let the sinner reap what the sinner has sown; and there is a harvest of anguish for ever to be gathered. Who discerns not that punishment may thus be sinfulness, and that, therefore, the principle of our text may hold good, to the very letter, in a scene of retribution? A man 'sows to the flesh;' this is the Apostle's description of sinfulness. He is 'of the flesh to reap corruption;' this is his description of punishment. He 'sows to the flesh' by pampering the lusts of the flesh; and he 'reaps of the flesh,' when these pampered lusts fall on him with fresh cravings, and demand of him fresh gratifications. But suppose this reaping continued in the next life, and is not the man mowing down a harvest of agony? Let all those passions and desires which it has been the man's business upon earth to indulge, hunger and thirst for gratification hereafter, and will ye seek elsewhere for the parched tongue beseeching fruitlessly one drop of water? Let the envious man keep his envy, and the jealous man his jealousy, and the revengeful man his revengefulness; and each has a worm which will eat out everlastingly the very core of his soul. Let

the miser have still his thoughts upon gold, and the drunkard his upon the wine-cup, and the sensualist his upon voluptuousness; and a fire-sheet is round each which shall never be extinguished. We know not whether it be possible to conjure up a more terrific image of a lost man than by supposing him everlastingly preyed upon by the master-lust which has here held him in bondage. We think that you have before you the spectacle of a being, hunted, as it were, by a never-wearied fiend, when you imagine that there rages in the licentious and profligate, only wrought into a fury which has no parallel upon earth, that very passion which it was the concern of a life-time to indulge, but which it must now be the employment of an eternity to deny. We are persuaded that you reach the summit of all that is tremendous in conception, when you suppose a man consigned to the tyranny of a lust which cannot be conquered, and which cannot be gratified. It is, literally, surrendering him to a worm which dies not—to a fire which is quenched not. And whilst the lust does the part of a ceaseless tormentor, the man, unable longer to indulge it, will writhe in remorse at having endowed it with sovereignty; and thus there will go on (though not in our power to conceive, and, O God, grant it may never be our lot to experience) the cravings of passion with the self-reproachings of the soul; and the torn and tossed creature shall for ever long to gratify lust, and for ever bewail his madness in gratifying it."—pp. 175—177.

Again, in the next sermon:—

"We shall assert that the moral improvement is just calculated to bring about an intellectual. You all know how intimately mind and body are associated. One plays wonderfully on the other, so that disease of body may often be traced to gloom of mind, and, conversely, gloom of mind be proved to originate in disease of body. And if there be this close connection between mental and corporeal, shall we suppose there is none between mental and moral? On the contrary, it is clear that the association, as before hinted, is of the strictest. What an influence do the passions exercise upon the judgment! How is the voice of reason drowned in the cry of impetuous desires! To what absurdities will the understanding give assent, when the will has resolved to take up their advocacy! How little way can truth make with the intellect, when there is something in its character which opposes the inclination! And what do we infer from these undeniable facts? Simply, that whilst the moral functions are disordered, so likewise must be the mental. Simply, that so long as the heart is depraved and disturbed, the mind, in a certain degree, must itself be out of joint. And if you would give the mind fair play, there must be applied straightways a corrective process to the heart. You cannot tell what a man's understanding is, so long as he continues 'dead in trespasses and sins.' There is a mountain upon it. It is tyrannized over by lusts and passions, and affections and appetites. It is compelled to form wrong estimates, and to arrive at wrong conclusions. It is not allowed to receive as truth what the carnal nature has an interest in rejecting as falsehood."—pp. 206, 207.

We would also quote with pleasure, if we had space, several



passages from a sermon on "The Impossibility of Creature Merit;" which errs, however, we think, in sometimes taking a line of argument which might be used to prove the impossibility of creature *demerit*.

But Mr. Melvill himself is not contented with this manner of writing: he is always straining after an eloquence far more transcendent; and what is worse, his fame, we apprehend, is most built upon the extraordinary effusions, in which truth and sobriety are sacrificed to startling language and exaggerated conceits.

What will the reader think of such oratory as the following? Must not the judicious grieve? and will not the scorner be tempted to smile?

"We wish you to understand thoroughly the nature of Christ's intercession. *When Rome had thrown from her the warrior who had led his countrymen to victory, and galled and fretted the proud spirit of her boldest hero; he, driven onwards by the demon of revenge, gave himself as a leader where he had before been a conqueror, and, taking a hostile banner into his passionate grasp, headed the foes who sought to subjugate the land of his nativity. Ye remember, it may be, how intercession saved the city. The mother bowed before the son; and Coriolanus, vanquished by tears, subdued by plaints, left the Capitol unscathed by battle.* Here is a precise instance of what men count successful intercession. But there is no analogy between this intercession and the intercession of Christ. Christ intercedes with justice. But the intercession is *the throwing down his cross on the crystal floor of heaven*, and thus proffering his atonement to satisfy the demand. Oh, it is not the intercession of burning tears, nor of half-choked utterance, nor of thrilling speech. It is the intercession of a broken body, and of gushing blood; of death, of passion, of obedience. It is the intercession of *a giant leaping into the gap, and filling it with his colossal stature, and covering, as with a rampart of flesh, the defenceless camp of the outcasts.* So that, not by the touching words and gestures of supplication, but by the resistless deeds and victories of Calvary, the Captain of our salvation intercedes—pleading, not as a petitioner who would move compassion, but rather as a conqueror who would claim his trophies."—pp. 50, 51.

"Of all the boons which God has bestowed on this apostate and orphaned creation, we are bound to say that the Bible is the noblest and most precious. We bring not into comparison with this illustrious donation the glorious sun-light, nor the rich sustenance which is poured forth from the storehouses of the earth, nor that existence itself which allows us, though dust, to soar into companionship with angels. The Bible is the development of man's immortality, the guide which informs him how he may move off triumphantly from a contracted and temporary scene, and grasp destinies of unbounded splendour, eternity his life-time, and infinity his home. It is the record which tells us that this rebellious section of God's unlimited empire is not excluded from our Maker's compassions; but that the creatures who move upon its surface, though they have basely sepulchred in sinfulness and corruption the magnifi-

cence of their nature, are yet so dear in their ruin to Him who first formed them, that he hath bowed down the heavens in order to open their graves. Oh! you have only to think what a change would pass on the aspect of our race, if the Bible were suddenly withdrawn, and all remembrance of it swept away, and you arrive at some faint notion of the worth of the volume. Take from Christendom the Bible, and you have taken the moral chart by which alone its population can be guided. Ignorant of the nature of God, and only guessing at their own immortality, the tens of thousands would be as mariners, tossed on a wide ocean, without a pole-star, and without a compass. *The blue lights of the storm-fiend would burn ever in the shrouds; and when the tornado of death rushed across the waters, there would be heard nothing but the shriek of the terrified, and the groan of the despairing.* It were to mantle the earth with a more than Egyptian darkness; it were to dry up the fountains of human happiness; it were to take the tides from our waters, and leave them stagnant—and the stars from our heavens, and leave them in sackcloth—and the verdure from our vallies, and leave them in barrenness; it were to make the present all recklessness and the future all hopelessness, *the maniac's revelry, and then the fiend's imprisonment,* if you could annihilate that precious volume which tells us of God and of Christ, and unveils immortality, and instructs in duty, and woos to glory. Such is the Bible. Prize ye it, and study it more and more. Prize it, as ye are immortal beings—for it guides to the New Jerusalem. Prize it, as ye are intellectual beings—for it 'giveth understanding to the simple.'"—pp. 210—212.

In these passages, how much of vigour is worse than marred! how much of talent is worse than thrown away! And yet we firmly believe, that, when delivered with a rapid energy of voice and gesture, they would strike hundreds of an arrested audience as glorious exhibitions and even master-pieces of eloquence. Nor, perhaps, will the mischief rest here. We assuredly are of opinion, that in these extracts Mr. Melvill has at least reached the *high-water* mark of pulpit oratory; but we are in sad alarm that others will seek to ascend to a yet farther point, until a torrent of fine words overflows every boundary of discretion, and moderation, and common sense. To this point, however, we shall return.

Let us here only enter our protest by saying, that the style of the foregoing quotations is bad in itself, because it must distract the thoughts of a congregation from the main argument or doctrine of a sermon to the crowd and confusion of metaphors, with which it is studded:—and most mischievous, as a precedent, because it must encourage young but ambitious preachers to swell out old and common ideas, as if they were great and wonderful discoveries,—and, we might almost add, trick out the figure of religion in a tawdry and tinsel robe, which might better become a strolling actress.

Mr. Melvill should really be *above* a style, which, in plain truth, being itself far beyond the limits of true eloquence, will induce many to rush into downright *fustian*:—a style, which is not *tragic*, but *melodramatic*;—which resembles not the pure and classical drawings of Raphael or Correggio, but the wildest exaggerations of Martin or Fuseli.

Unfortunately, we might go on; and quote other "*dulcia vitia*," other shining sins of compositions, which can only serve as "lights to lure astray." We might remark the *iteration* of particular words and phrases; the evidences of a strain and *tension*, which, we fear, will exhaust both mind and body in no long period: the constant recurrence to "angelic harpings and melodizings," and the proximity of the end of the world; the coinage—or, at least, the introduction into *theological prose*—of such terms as "*snow-mountains*," for mountains covered with snow; and "*war-tug*," and "*forefront*," and "*poison-cup*," and "*wrath-cup*," with sundry others, which ought rather to be left to the poetical department of the "Annuals." Nor can we omit to notice the strange and grating incongruity of the passages which we shall next quote, or the mixture of grandeur and *bizarrerie*, with which we shall close our extracts.

"We are persuaded that if there be one thing on this earth which, more than another, draws the *sorrowing regards of the world of spirits*, it must be the system of education pursued by the generality of parents. *The entering a room gracefully is a vast deal more attended to than the entering into heaven; and you would conclude that the grand thing for which God had sent the child into the world, was that it might catch the Italian accent, and be quite at home in every note of the gamut.*"  
—p. 213.

"The voice of righteousness will find something of an echo amid the disorders and confusions of the worst moral chaos; and the strings of conscience are scarcely ever so dislocated and torn as not to yield even a whisper, when swept by the hand of a high-virtued monitor."  
—p. 289.

"The main thing wanted, in order that men might be assured of immortality, was a grappling with death. It was the showing that there should be no lasting separation between soul and body. It was the exhibiting the sepulchres emptied of their vast population, and giving up the dust remoulded into human shape. And this it was which the Mediator effected, not so much by announcement as by action, not so much by preaching resurrection and life, as by being 'the resurrection and the life.' He went down to the grave in the weakness of humanity, but, at the same time, in the might of Deity. And, designing to pour forth a torrent of lustre on the life, the everlasting life of man, oh, he did not bid the firmament cleave asunder, and the constellations of eternity shine out in their majesties, and

dazzle and blind an overawed creation. *He rose up, a moral giant, from his grave-clothes; and, proving death vanquished in his own stronghold, left the vacant sepulchre as a centre of light to the dwellers on this planet. He took not the suns and systems which crowd immensity in order to form one brilliant cataract which, rushing down in its glories, might sweep away darkness from the benighted race of the apostate. But he came forth from the tomb, masterful and victorious; and the place where he had lain became the focus of the rays of the long-hidden truth; and the fragments of his grave-stone were the stars from which flashed the immortality of man.*—pp. 146, 147.

We cannot end with a fairer specimen of both the power and the false taste, by which Mr. Melvill is distinguished. And, if the power had not belonged to him, we should have been at no trouble to utter a warning against the false taste. It is his *beauties*, which render him dangerous; somewhat as Cæsar's good qualities caused his tyranny to be borne, and it was said with some reason,

“Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country.”

We would not do Mr. Melvill injustice; and at moments, when we take up the volume again, and light upon some glowing thought felicitously managed, some happy image attractive through the drapery of words, which flows around it, we are almost ready to accuse ourselves of harshness; but we are not disarmed long; we gather a fresh access of rigour from the reflection, how much injury the general adoption of such a manner in our churches would inflict upon the literature, and ultimately, we apprehend, upon the religion of the land. Mr. Melvill is himself far too poetical for prose; and far too laboriously gorgeous for the pulpit; but we come now more systematically to inquire, what effect his success is likely to produce, at a time, when there are already too many temptations, instead of making sermons local and peculiar to the wants of a congregation, to pronounce something suitable to the next number of some three-penny periodical, almost as speeches in the House of Commons are addressed most to the reporters.

We gravely ask, then, at what point are we to stop? What is to become of us, if a style such as this becomes the standard of the most approved composition? What is to become of us, if men of inferior understanding imitate this style, with the intention and the ambition of surpassing it? What, if the next orator should be to Mr. Melvill, what Mr. Melvill is to Dr. Chalmers; and a similar rate of proportion should go on almost “*ad infinitum*.” We fear that both our prose and our verse are verging fast towards this tumid inflation. As to verse

we have a specimen now afforded us by the egregious Mr. Wall: as to prose, we might mention many young aspirants, senatorial, legal, and clerical, whose nascent glories are only just mounting above the line of the horizon. Men are so bespangling the texture of their lucubrations, that we can hardly discern the colour of the ground; they are dissatisfied, till all is effort, and brilliancy, and exaggeration: instead of merely interspersing their illustrations to explain the ideas, they rather lead up the ideas to the illustrations; and they squeeze in a whole sentence for the glorious purpose of introducing a trope. Alas! the ardent spirits, who are debarred from flinging themselves into the arms of poetry, because the muse is out of favour, are only the more likely to make our "*prose run mad*."

What is the consequence? The march of the thoughts is prolix and tedious; and they grapple but feebly with their subject, like a Persian army incumbered with a long train of baggage, and weakened by the costly adornments of luxury or ostentation. Or rather,—for this comparison is much too magnificent,—the puny and pilfered conceptions are dressed up in an array of words infinitely too big for them; until they look like a frolicsome child, endeavouring to walk about and look important in a heavy great coat belonging to his grandfather.

But we must stop, for our own remarks may prove how infectious is this style. We feel, indeed, that we have well nigh caught the contagion, fresh as we are,—not merely from the perusal of Mr. Melvill's Sermons,—but from some other bursts of oratory, which were designed, we imagine, to transport all the hearers into the seventh heaven.

The fact is, that, in reviewing the sermons before us, we almost feel, as if we were reviewing a new *class* of writers and preachers, of whom Mr. Melvill is at once the representative and the Coryphæus. We mean the class of men, whose prose can hardly be called "*sermo pedestris*;" for it is always walking upon stilts. We feel also, that it will be well, if it is possible, to stop this irregular kind of Pegasus, before it is put to the impetus of its full speed. The very principle of such a manner of composition, if it be suffered to proceed much farther, will become quite intolerable; and, if used in the pulpit, instead of inspiring a solemn awe, or awakening calm, but serious reflection, will only tickle the ear, and play round the fancy; but no more restrain the guilty, or console the declining, than we could feed a starving man upon artificial roses.

Unfortunately, the great magnet is excitement; the great secret is to produce excitement; and the more stirring the excitement, the more overflowing the audience. There is the

fiercer excitement, which inflames man's emotions; there is the softer excitement, which steals upon female sensibilities. Stimulate the imagination, work upon the feelings, nay, even agitate the senses, simply the eye and ear, by loud tones and vehement gestures; and the work is done. But, then, again, as the understanding is much less excitable than the imagination or the passions, the appeals to the understanding, in popular preaching, are comparatively few, and far between. True eloquence,—the eloquence, which, in its resistless sweep, carries along with it the intellect and the emotions together, is a glorious and a divine thing; and perhaps it has been rightly accounted, by a most competent judge, to be the very rarest of all human acquirements. But a false and specious eloquence will do quite as well, if the only aim is to attract a numerous congregation, by acting upon the excitability of man or woman.

True eloquence, is, of all conceivable things, perhaps the most distant from the sort of oratory to which we allude. It is severe, and simple, and unaffected. It is always rapid, and always direct, because always in earnest. It invariably chooses the most obvious and forcible, rather than the finest terms. It sternly discards all superfluity and excess; it scorns and tramples upon meretricious pomp. It is sometimes figurative, because figures will sometimes convey the clearest representation of the truths which it wishes to impress; but it is seldom distinguished by *much* of mere imagery or embellishment. It glows with its own velocity. Every thing, that is far-fetched, thwarts its effect: every thing is foreign to its purpose, which distracts the mind from the one subject on which it is to be kept intent. In true eloquence, the logic and the rhetoric are one. It burns, and thunders, and lightens, as it would convince and persuade. Its best art is to be above all artifices, and tricks, and mannerism whatsoever. If metaphors and comparisons lie in its line of march, it will bear them onward, and make use of them: but it will not pause, or deviate, to pick them up, more than a man hurrying on an important errand would step out of his way to gather flowers. Such is the best, because the most natural eloquence; and the intellectual taste of a nation is always vitiated and debauched, when such eloquence is but faintly admired, whether it be in the pulpit, or in the senate, or at the bar; or when the more florid, and Asiatic, and exuberant class of oratory is preferred to it.

This style is much more solicitous about things than words; this style compels a man to pay attention to his matter; for it is just the style, in which no man can venture to talk *trash*. Sophistry and imbecility always like to clothe themselves with an

unmeaning cloud of words. Compressed into this style, an hour's worth of a popular harangue would hardly occupy ten minutes.

Could Mr. Melvill's publication bear to be tried by such a criterion as this? and yet he must be as well aware as we are, that it requires more mastery of thought to present the *one* right idea, than a dozen almost right; that it requires more mastery of language to choose one word, and that the best, than to pour out an affluent tautology in the indiscriminate heap of expletives and synonyms. He must be aware also, that a vicious style once indulged must almost inevitably become more and more vicious: because it first spoils the intellectual palate of an audience, and then is obliged to *spice and pepper* more and more, in order to satisfy the palate, which it has helped to spoil.

But let us stop once more to qualify what we advance. These remarks are adapted, and they are meant, not *half* so much for Mr. Melvill, as for the present or the *embryo* imitators of Mr. Melvill.

We know well, that there is no limit to the extravagance of *imitators*: and we suspect, from symptoms already manifested, that if the *cacoëthes*, not merely of writing, but of fine writing, fairly seizes upon the rising generation, the forth-coming crop of absurdities will be luxuriant indeed. Peter Pindar's description of Sir Joseph's pursuit of a butterfly, will seem tame and cold to their heat and anxiety in the chace of a metaphor. More and more astounding will become the displays of grotesque embroidery, and puerile amplification; until at last perhaps we shall have young gentlemen entering upon the most common-place pursuits with "a *staunch and dominant* step," and shaving their chins with the "*machinery*" of a razor, and applying to their coats the "*apparatus*" of a brush.

But we repeat,—for we must always keep in mind—the great misfortune is, that a style, redolent of pleonasm and vagaries, while it is only ludicrous and amusing on other subjects, tends to very serious mischief, when addressed from the pulpit, and introduced into religious compositions. It injures not only the preacher, but the hearers. Men, and women still more, will be perpetually on the look out for splendid diction, and glittering images, and vehement delivery; they will think less of the truths of the Gospel, than of the garb in which they are clothed, and the *manner* in which they are set forth: and they will scarcely listen to homely unadorned sense spoken with a plain unpretending simplicity. But these things are much to be deplored; for it would be no small calamity to the devotion of a country, if even a single Church or Chapel were frequented, less as a place of pious and humble

worship, than as an arena for declamation, or a theatre, where the feelings were to be moved.

We are quite ready to allow, that many orthodox ministers err, *and by design*, in the opposite extreme. They destroy their efficiency by studiously subduing their style, and being as elaborately bare and frigid, as their far more successful rivals are elaborately gorgeous and impassioned. After all, in nineteen cases out of twenty, a man's natural style will be the most useful and become him best. We mean the style, to which he is led by his peculiar constitution of taste and temperament; where he neither chills himself down into an artificial iciness, nor heats himself into an artificial inspiration, which is the *afflatus* of vanity, and not of religion.

It may seem scarcely candid, that we should append all these remarks to a criticism upon Mr. Melvill's discourses. And yet we are paying him a compliment. If we entertained a less high opinion of his abilities and his influence, we should have dismissed his volume with a very brief and cursory notice. But, although we may think him an example, in many respects "*vitiis imitabile*," we feel that he has a power about him which is sure to make him an example. His very faults are set off by so much that is really forcible and really beautiful, that we have been sometimes captivated by them ourselves, until our calmer judgment has had time to operate; and, very possibly, if we had heard these sermons, instead of reading and weighing them at our leisure, we might have gone away with an impression of almost unqualified admiration. In a word, if a style of flowery luxuriance, and oppressive copiousness, gradually creeps into our pulpits, and becomes the favorite style of the day, Mr. Melvill, we believe, will have more to answer for, than any other man in his majesty's dominions, with the exception of Dr. Chalmers. We have, in fact, had several opportunities of ascertaining that from his celebrity and his talents, he has already *become* a model. We have known his *pet* expressions transplanted into the sermons of several preachers, studious of popularity, and, we dare say, on the high road to its attainment; nay, we have known them in two or three instances stuck, like the purple patches, upon a thread-bare poverty of thought and language; and so forming a mixture, according to the light in which the matter is viewed, either marvellously ridiculous, or indescribably painful. Mr. Melvill himself speaks, in his last sermon more especially, of "young men who throng his Chapel:"—many of whom, it is no uncharitable supposition to imagine, flock to it, as a *school of oratory*, much more than as a house of prayer.

For their sakes we have offered the preceding observations.



Nor less indeed for Mr. Melvill's own. His present position, while it confers upon him an immediate popularity, will conduce but little, we apprehend, to his solid and lasting reputation. The sermons, which he has published, contain all the materials of greatness and excellence; but we cannot say, upon the whole, that they are great and excellent in their actual state. But the goal is before him. With the vigour of his mind yet unimpaired, and the prime of manhood scarcely yet upon his brow, we are of opinion, that, by the aid of calm study, and intellectual self-restraint, and well-regulated exertion, there is scarcely any thing which he might not accomplish,—scarcely any thing to which he might not aspire,—scarcely any thing of honour to himself,—and what it is our sincere belief, he would far more highly prize,—scarcely any thing of usefulness and advantage to others. As he outstripped his contemporaries in the proud competitions of the University, he has passed them again in the race of rhetorical distinction. But there is something much nobler, and much more elevated, within his reach. We wish, very warmly and very honestly, that he may not lose it through the unbridled strength of his own imagination, or the misjudging flattery of his wholesale admirers.

We feel confident, that, when Mr. Melvill considers the general scope and tendency of our strictures, he will not take offence at the tone of pleasantry, in which we have occasionally indulged. He will make the due distinction, between the part which is applicable to himself, and the part which is applicable to the “servile herd” of plagiarists, who will and do copy his peculiarities, without emulating his loftier and more valuable qualifications.

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ART. XI.—*Extracts from the Information received by His Majesty's Commissioners as to the Administration and Operation of the Poor Laws.* 3vo. pp. 432.

INTERESTING as are the contents of the volume before us, and valuable as is the information contained in it, the mass of evidence is so undigested that it is a work of difficulty to compare the different accounts on the same subjects, so as to come at any useful conclusion. We could certainly have wished that some order or arrangement had been adhered to, or a better Index annexed, by which the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners on the same points, might have been more readily collated and compared. The confusion complained of has arisen because, in

furnishing his report, each individual has used his own discretion as to the manner of compiling the information which he obtained. One or two have answered the questions of the Commissioners in order, but most of them have adopted no regular plan whatever, but have set down their remarks without any arrangement. The report from Trechurst, Sussex, by Mr. Courthope, consists of plain, direct, and full answers to the questions proposed; and from the clear, definite and decisive information we have gained from them, we cannot but regret that the same simple plan was not pursued by all the reporters. But of all, we are most inclined to find fault with the voluminous report of Mr. Chadwick, a gentleman of first-rate information, knowledge and judgment on the subject in question, who seems nevertheless determined to mystify to others, that which we believe is clear to himself. As a whole his statement is so confused, so made up of shreds and patches, that when we turn over a page we hardly know where he is—in Town or Country, in London or Berkshire, in Spitalfields or Maidenhead Thicket:—yet we acknowledge this gentleman draws from this heterogeneous mass of evidence, inferences so correct, conclusive, and incontrovertible, that we doubt not the Commissioners will notice them as containing the most valuable suggestions in the whole volume.

Much as we had seen and heard of the ill effects of the administration and operation of the Poor Laws, we were hardly prepared for the details with which we are now made acquainted. The concluding paragraph of the introductory Letter to Lord Melbourne, strong as are the expressions in it, hardly conveys an adequate idea of what we read in the pages which follow.

“The most important, and certainly the most painful part of its contents, are the proof that the maladministration, which was supposed to be principally confined to some of the agricultural districts, appears to have spread over almost every part of the country, and into the manufacturing towns; the proof that actual intimidation directed against those who are supposed to be unfavourable to profuse relief is one of the most extensive sources of maladministration; and the proof that the evil, though checked in some places by extraordinary energy and talent, is on the whole steadily and rapidly progressive.”

One of the greatest and most evident causes of the existing evils is the allowance system. It seems that the general custom in nearly the whole of the districts visited, and in some part of every one of them, is to allow money from the parish fund without requiring any labour in exchange, not only to the old or infirm, but to the most able-bodied who want it, or seem to want it; whether that

want arises from the farmer giving inadequate wages, or from the negligence of the pauper in not endeavouring to earn all he can; still, if the fact is admitted that the applicant is not in possession of money enough to buy provision for himself and family, in almost every case relief is granted without further inquiry, and that relief in most cases regulated according to a fixed scale, without any reference to character, or merit, or any circumstances, except the number of individuals to be provided for. The churchwarden of Lexham, in Kent, in answer to the question:—

“ ‘Is relief given according to any and what scale?’ says ‘Yes, the single man, 5s. ; man and wife, 10s. ; do., with one child, 12s. ; do. with three, 13s., &c. to lay about in the roads;’ ”

and the answers of the vicar and assistant overseer agree with this. In Mr. Power’s Report from Cambridge Town, and in Mr. Cowell’s Report from the county, we find copies of a request from the magistrates, signed by their clerk and addressed to the overseers, that a certain scale of the minimum of allowance, according to the number of individuals to be relieved should be adhered to; and wherever the scale is in use, as in the home and southern counties, it is always understood that the wages actually earned by the labourer are to be taken into consideration, and the remainder of the allowance to be made up from the rates. The evils of this system are too apparent, and have been too often discussed to need other observation than that of the late intelligent Mr. Andrews, as quoted by Mr. Majendie:—

“What do the poor give for what they receive from the poor-rates? They give their honesty, their veracity, their industry, and every thing which tends to make a man a good member of society.”

We extract the following passage to show that the allowance system exists in cities and large towns as well as in the agricultural districts, where it has long been acknowledged to prevail. In the city of Oxford, which is under a local act, we find reported by the Rev. H. Bishop the following successful application for relief:—

“An habitual drunkard, ruined by the facility of obtaining parish aid, and who but for that might have done well, but now allows his wife and family to continue in a state a little above starving, came to ask for work, and obtained 7s. without work. Another, receiving 12s. a week, obtained 2s. this night: he wishes to have a fixed income (to use his own words) that he may know what he has to depend on.”—p. 116.

In the townships of Darlington and Barnard-Castle the al-

lowance system, described by Mr. Wilson as the radical vice of the poor laws, is patronized by the master manufacturers and magistrates with the same determination as we witness in the agricultural counties, and graduated after the same manner, according to the number in families.

In London relief is obtained and imposition practised to obtain it, far beyond what is possible in the country; though the allowance is more unequal and seldom regulated by any scale, yet it is often given without discrimination, and paupers not unfrequently receive it from more parishes than one; often claim and obtain it when they are in full work: instances of frauds of this description are scattered through the whole of Mr. Chadwick's extensive report. We extract some of the most flagrant.

The following extract from the evidence of Mr. Huish, assistant-overseer of St. George's, Southwark, will afford an example:—

“Some time ago there was a shoemaker, who had a wife and family of four children, who demanded relief of the parish, and obtained an allowance of 5s. a week. He stated that he worked for Mr. Adderly, the shoemaker, who now lives in the High Street, in the Borough. The man stated, in applying for relief, that, however he worked, he could earn no more than 13s. per week. A respectable washerwoman informed me, that the way in which this family lived was such, that she was convinced the man earned enough to support them honestly, without burthening the parish, and that it was a shame for them to receive relief. In consequence of this information I objected to the allowance; but one of the overseers, taking up the book, said, ‘But here is the account signed by Mr. Adderly himself; can you doubt so respectable a man?’ Still I was not satisfied, and I watched the man and found him going to Mr. Pulbrook's, in Blackfriars Road. When the man had quitted the shop, I went in and asked whether the man who had just left worked for them. Mr. Pulbrook stated that he did work for them, and had done so for the last twelve months; that he was one of the best shoemakers who had ever worked for him; that he earned only about 12s. a week; and that he (Mr. Pulbrook) regretted he had not more work for him. The man had left his book, which I borrowed. When the man came to the board, I said to him, ‘Do you know Mr. Pulbrook of Blackfriars Road?’ ‘Yes, I do, very well.’ ‘Do you ever work for him?’ ‘I have done a job now and then for him.’ I then asked whether he had not earned as much as 10s. or 12s. a week from him. His reply was, ‘No, never.’ I then produced the book between him and Mr. Pulbrook, from which it appeared that he had earned from 10s. to 12s. per week from the time stated. This took him by surprise, and he had no answer to make. The relief was refused him, and he never came again; I afterwards ascertained, that in addition to the 13s. a week which he earned from Mr. Adderley, and the 12s. a week which he earned from Mr. Pul-

brook, his wife and himself worked for Mr. Drew, the slop-seller, living at Newington Causeway, and earned 7s. a week from him. On the average of the year round they did not earn less than 30s. per week. The man was afterwards spoken to about the loss of the parish allowance, when he said, 'I did not like to lose it; it was a hard case; it was like a freehold to me, for I have had it these seven years.'—p. 211.

In the evidence of Mr. Waite we find the following curious story:—

"One woman, named Mary Shave, the mother of a bastard child, being refused her 'pension,' went to the police office and obtained a summons. Whilst waiting at the office-door she related her tale to the vagrants in waiting. When the case was called on, a woman made her appearance as Mary Shave; I thought she was not the woman I had seen before; I said, 'Are you Mary Shave?' 'Yes,' she said, 'she was *the* Mary Shave, who had the misfortune to be the mother of a natural child, and who had been ill-used by the parish officers;' and she made out a circumstantial case, clearly to the satisfaction of the magistrates, who ordered her relief, which was immediately given to her. Soon afterwards, the real Mary Shave appeared and substantiated her claim, and she was relieved. The other had made off with the money."

Mr. Brushfield, a tradesman, residing in Spitalfields, and one of the parish officers of Christchurch, Spitalfields, states:—

"The first day I was in active office (25th of March, 1831,) a woman named Kitty Daley came to me for relief on account of the illness of her child—she came without her child. I knew this case, as the doctor said there ought to be something given to her, on account of the child being ill with the small-pox. I gave her sixpence, to serve until I had an opportunity of visiting her. In the course of the day, between the hours of ten and two o'clock, about forty or fifty applications were made to me for relief. Usually it is the practice of the parish officers to give away money on the representation and the appearance of the parties; indeed, it is scarcely possible for a tradesman, who has a retail-shop, to avoid giving away considerable sums of money, as the applicants excite the sympathy of his customers, and if he does not comply with their demands, they (the paupers) may and do raise mischievous tumults, and injure his business by their clamours and obstructions. They did injure my business in this way, and must injure the business of any man who does his duty. However, I determined to give no relief on the mere representations of the parties. I therefore took down the names and addresses of the applicants, for the purpose of visiting their residences. In the course of the forenoon three women came to request relief, and each brought in their arms a child, which she said had the small-pox. The child was muffled up very carefully. One woman showed me the arm of the child; the other showed me the face of the child which she had; the third gave

me a glance of the face of the child which she had. It appeared to me strange that there was so much small-pox about; when I saw the face of the third child it struck me as being the same child that had been shown to me before, though now in a different dress. On visiting the places where the parties said they resided, it was found that about one third of their statements of residences were falsehoods; no such persons were to be found."

In speaking of the impositions practised to obtain relief from the rates we must not omit to notice those used to obtain relief from the different charitable institutions in the metropolis and its vicinity. We trust the praiseworthy supporters of them will have their eyes opened by the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Stone, in the description of the ordinary operation of charity in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields: evidence, however, which, clever as it is, we cannot but think to be in some parts much too *dramatic*, too *ambitious*, too *highly coloured* for the serious and simple object which was in view. We forbear to extract it, as it has already appeared in many of the newspapers. He concludes with these words—certainly very unsatisfactory to those benevolent individuals who have expended large sums for the benefit, as they thought, of their fellow creatures—"I have contented myself, however, with describing the state of the district as regards charitable relief, and the extent to which that relief *may be*, and actually is, made to minister to improvidence and dependence."—p. 302.

In reference to the allowance system we regret to find in many instances (we are afraid we must in truth acknowledge generally) this system originated with the magistrates, and is by them persisted in with most unaccountable obstinacy. Proofs of this exist not only in the scales of allowance published by their authority, but also in their decisions and orders: one of which by three magistrates in Hertfordshire is reported by Mr. Cowell. Where too an improvement in the administration of the Poor Laws has been attempted by intelligent parish officers, too often has it failed through the interference of the magistrates, blindly bigoted to the old mode of proceeding: we forbear to make extracts on this painful point, but we refer our readers for proofs of it to pages 98, 101, 204, 262, 373, &c.

But it is with pleasure we find, that illustrious examples of "extraordinary energy and talents checking the growing evil," are not wanting among the magistracy and parochial clergy, as well as others. In Mr. Majendie's report of the parish of Stanford Rivers is the following statement.

"In the year 1821 the expenditure amounted to 1191*l*. In the year 1825, a gentleman of the name of Andrews, the occupier of a considerable farm, determined with the rest of the parishioners and the support of

a very intelligent and experienced magistrate, Mr. Oldham, to make a bold effort to put down pauperism. The weekly pay was at once struck off, and in the year ending, March 1826, the expenditure was 560*l*.

"At the commencement of the new system very numerous applications were made to the select vestry, but they were strictly examined; where relief was necessary, in cases of illness or real distress, it was liberally granted; but refused unless requisite; and the labourers by degrees learnt to depend on their own resources. The rates gradually diminished, and the money expended on the poor alone, which in 1825 amounted to 834*l*., was in 1828 only 196*l*. The vestry determined that all capable of work should be employed, and that no relief should be given but in return for labour. The labourers improved in their habits and comforts. During the four years the system was in progress there was not a single commitment for theft or any other offence."

After Mr. Andrews' death, Mr. Capel Cure, a principal proprietor, introduced the plan of an Incorporated Workhouse, as is related by Mr. Becher in his evidence before the House of Lords. Ten parishes united to erect the Ongar Workhouse, and the results of the workhouse system continue to be most satisfactory.

In St. Werburgh, Derby, we find that Mr. Mosley produced a considerable improvement, by placing the parish under Mr. Sturges Bourne's Vestry Act, and by a fixed determination to oppose the allowance system. This is plainly illustrated by comparing St. Werburgh with the parish of Chesterfield similarly situated.

<i>Township of the Borough of Chesterfield.</i>	<i>St. Werburgh's Parish, in the Borough of Derby.</i>
Population, 1831—5700.	Population, 1831—6349.
Total assessments in the years 1831 and 1832—£2645.	Average of 5 years' assessments—£1800.
Resolved not to act under Sturges Bourne's Act.	Adopted Sturges Bourne's Act.
Relief given to able-bodied men without work.	No relief given to able-bodied men without work.
No employment for able bodied men.	Employment found for able-bodied men, who are paid by the piece.
A commodious workhouse.	Inconvenient workhouse.
Paupers only employed in sweeping the streets and in running of errands.	Paupers not allowed to go out but by special order.
Poor in the workhouse, Oct. 1832—30.	Poor in the workhouse, Oct. 1832—42.
Out poor, Oct. 1832—149.	Out poor, Oct. 1832—88.

In the parish of Cookham, by the exertions of the Rev. Thomas Whateley the parochial expenditure was reduced from 3133*l*. to 1155*l*. and the general condition of the labouring classes improved; Mr. Russell, the magistrate of Swallowfield, stated that, in riding through Cookham, he was so struck with the appearance of comfort observable in the persons and residences of some of the labouring classes of that village, that he was led to make an enquiry into the cause. The answer he received determined him

to exert his influence to procure a similar change of system in Swallowfield. "During the agricultural riots, there was no fire, no riots, no threatening letters in Cookham parish. In the midst of a district which was peculiarly disturbed, Cookham, and White Waltham, where a similar system of Poor Law administration was adopted, entirely escaped, although in Cookham there were several thrashing machines, and the only paper-mill had, at the time of the riots, been newly fitted up with machinery."

But by far the most satisfactory description of improvement, is that reported by Mr. Cowell as having taken place at Bingham in Nottinghamshire, through the agency of the Rev. Mr. Lowe, a magistrate and the resident incumbent.

"In 1818-1819, Mr. Lowe undertook to remedy this state of things. Being satisfied that it proceeded entirely from the operation of the poor laws, and that there was no cause, independent of their influence, to prevent his parishioners from being happy, honest, and industrious; and knowing that it was impossible to refuse relief according to the practice and custom of the country, he devised means for rendering relief itself so irksome and disagreeable, that none would consent to receive it who could possibly do without it, while at the same time it should come in the shape of comfort and consolation to those whom every benevolent man would wish to succour—the old, infirm, idiots, and cripples.

"For this purpose he placed in the workhouse a steady, cool-tempered man, who was procured from a distance, and was not known in the parish, as master; refused all relief in kind or money, and sent every applicant and his family at once into the workhouse. The fare is meat three times a-week, soup twice, pudding once, milk porridge five times. Surely no man who says that he cannot maintain himself, wife, and children by the sweat of his brow—who declares that he is starving—who applies for charity, has a right to complain of being placed in a clean and comfortable house, of having a good bed to sleep on, and such fare every day as I have described above; and had Mr. Lowe stopped here, matters would not have been much mended. But the applicant who entered the workhouse, 'on the plea that he was starving for want of work,' was taken at his word, and told that these luxuries and benefits could only be given by the parish against work, and in addition, that a certain regular routine was established, to which all the inmates must conform. The man goes to one side of the house, the wife to the other, and the children into the school-room. Separation is steadily enforced. Their own clothes are taken off, and the uniform of the workhouse put on. No beer, tobacco, or snuff is allowed. Regular hours are kept, or meals forfeited. Every one must appear in a state of personal cleanliness. No access to bed-rooms during the day. No communication with friends out of doors. Breaking stones in the yard by the grate; as large a quantity required every day as an able-bodied labourer is enabled to break.

"But the monotony, the restraint, the want of stimulants, the regula-



city of hours, are irksome to the pretended pauper. He bethinks himself of liberty, and work he will find, if there is a job undone in the parish or neighbourhood within a day's walk. No man stood this discipline for three weeks. After a struggle which lasted a few months, the paupers of Bingham gave the matter up. The inmates of the workhouse dropped from forty-five to twelve, who were all either old, idiots, or infirm, and to whom a workhouse is really a place of comfort. The number of persons relieved out of the workhouse dropped from seventy-eight to twenty-seven. The weekly pay from 6*l.* to 1*l.* 16*s.* to pensioners, all of whom are old and blind, or crippled. These are permitted to live with their relations, as such instances of relieving out of the workhouse produce no mischief.

“Wages rose to twelve shillings a-week, winter and summer, all the year through; the labourer husbanded his resources, took a pride and pleasure in his cottage, and resumed his rank in the scale of moral being.

“The effect of this system is far more important in a moral point of view, than in a pecuniary or economical point of view. The conduct and habits of the population of Bingham, according to the representations of Mr. Lowe and Deane, and by the consent of the neighbourhood, is now as different from what it was fifteen years ago as can be conceived—no crimes, no mis-deeds, no disturbances.”

After reading and witnessing the successful results of an administration of the existing laws by sensible and determined men, whose energy has resisted and destroyed the allowance system, with all the ills attendant on it, we may fairly ask whether the greatest evils of pauperism do not arise rather from the mal-administration of the Poor Laws, than the law itself; and if so, whether repeal of those statutes only which seemed to favour this mal-administration would not check the growth of these evils as effectually as the repeal of all the existing laws on the subject, and the formation of a new code on entirely different principles. It is proved, past all contradiction, that much of the mischief does arise entirely from mal-administration, and is traced to one source, *the allowance of relief to those who could work without labour in exchange*. The present law neither does, nor ever did, authorise such relief to be granted. The 43 Eliz. c. 2, enacts that the overseers of the poor shall take order for *setting to work* the children of such persons as cannot maintain them, and also for setting to work all married or unmarried persons having no means to maintain themselves, and allows them to raise sums for furnishing materials for such work. Then follows, “also for the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, and blind, and also for binding poor children apprentices.” In a note on the subject in Mr. Chitty's edition of Burn, it is stated that there is a letter addressed to Lord Burghley by a county magistrate, which shows

that the great evil arising from habits of idleness among the poor began then to be understood, which strengthens the idea that one great object of the legislative provisions for the poor made about that time was to prevent able-bodied men from being unemployed. The next statute which it is material to notice as regulating the relief of the poor is 9 Geo. 1, s. 7. This act empowered overseers to provide "houses for the poor, where they might be lodged, maintained, and employed;" and ordered that such poor as should refuse to be lodged therein, should not be entitled to relief. By 22 Geo. 3, ch. 83, relative to the incorporation of parishes for the purpose of establishing a common poorhouse, the 9 Geo. 1, c. 67, is explained, and the manner of giving relief more particularly set forth. Section xxix. orders *that no person shall be sent to the workhouse except such as are become indigent by old age, sickness, or infirmity, or except orphan children*, (the proper and only objects of *gratuitous relief*;) but by sec. xxxii. any poor person who is able and willing to work, but cannot get employment, shall be set to work and properly maintained, lodged, or provided for, and the expense of his maintenance, &c. paid out of the profits of his labour, &c.; and these sections compared together evidently suppose a *workhouse* distinct from the *poorhouse*, and on this act is founded that system which has been patronized by Mr. Lowe, Mr. Becher, and others, with such satisfactory results. Before the time of this act, and for some years after, the mode of administering relief was confined to provision in the poorhouse or workhouse, either to the infirm gratuitously, or to the able-bodied and their families, in return for labour. In the year 1795, a winter of unusual scarcity, an act was passed, from which originated all the evils of the allowance system. By 36 Geo. 3, c. 15, justices were authorised to order relief to poor persons at their own houses. "The scarcity continuing in 1796," as is stated in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "the county magistrates in Berkshire, and afterwards in other parts of the middle and south of England, agreed to relieve the poor according to a fixed and uniform scale, regulated by the price of bread, and issued a table which professed to show at one view what should be the weekly income of the labouring poor, which it fixed at a certain ratio, according to the price of bread and size of the family. The practical operation of this system is, that if the allowance of A. and B. is the same on the table, say 12s., and A. is industrious and earns 8s., he receives the rest from the parish; but B. is so idle and dishonest that no one will employ him, gets the whole 12s. from the parish."

The ill effect of this upon the industry and the prudence of the labourers has been already enlarged upon; and most of the evils recorded in the book before us seem traced to this source. It is plain such evils may at once be remedied by cutting off the source from which they spring, that is, by repealing that act which authorises relief to be given to the poor at their own houses; and then the exemplary administration of the law by Mr. Becher, Mr. Lowe, and others, must be adopted by all, at least in its general principle. We have seen it proved, that by the adoption of this system,\* the growth of pauperism is at once checked. A distinction will then at once be made between the independent labourer and the pauper, and an end will be put to the impositions practised in town, as well as those practised almost as extensively by out-dwellers in the country. We own the opinion of that very intelligent magistrate of Sussex, Mr. Courthope, as expressed in his answers to questions 14 and 16, is against the practicability of this plan in his neighbourhood; but we must remember those answers were made while the dreadful scenes of 1830 were fresh in his remembrance, and he seems to think farmers would agree with the labourers in their resistance to it. Yet he acknowledges that among all the remedies he has seen tried, some of which were equally hazardous, and as decidedly obnoxious to the labourers, not one was tried with the least success. But in Berkshire, in a neighbourhood where the labourers were almost as riotously inclined, we find, from the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Cherry, of Burghfield, that the whole of the single labourers, generally the most tumultuous, "hailed the notification that rates would no longer be allowed in aid of wages with great satisfaction, as they considered it would render wages in future more proportioned to their labour, and that a single man would have a better chance." But we have an opinion in our favour which is of great value; it is that of Lord Mansfield, in the case of *Rex v. St. Paul and St. Peter, Bath*: he thus expressed his decided approbation of the workhouse system:—"The want of workhouses was, however, soon felt as an inconvenience; they were not long after introduced by the legislature, and, if well regulated, a most desirable mode of relief they

\* There is no mention made in these Reports of the effects which the workhouse system has produced in *Bishops-Hatfield, Herts*, where it was introduced under the auspices of the Marquis of Salisbury. The beneficial effects of the system were so evident, that it is now becoming general in that neighbourhood: it has been adopted, with the most pleasing prospect of success, in the parishes of Walton, Welwyn, Hertingfordbury, and others, and has in no case failed of giving satisfaction both, to the farmers and the labourers.

are; they supply comfort and accommodation for those that cannot work, and employment for those who can." His lordship then adds an explanation of the wisdom of 22 Geo. 3, ch. 15, empowering parishes to unite, that workhouses may be on a scale sufficiently large. Mal-administration may produce much mischief in the workhouse system as in any other: perhaps it has done more mischief here than in any other—where the provision is better in the workhouses than the independent labourer can obtain out of it,—where the accommodation is far superior to that of his cottage,—where the liberty in both is equal,—where idleness is allowed, and classification not insisted on. All this mischief would be in a great measure prevented by separating the poorhouse from the workhouse, making the one a refuge for those who could not work, the other a residence for those who could; ensuring tolerable comfort in the first, but merely providing necessities in the other, and insisting on work, regularity, restraint, and separation. It is not to be desired that even the aged and infirm should wish to come to the poor house, or that they should look forward to the time when they should take to it as their abode; it would be much more natural, that they should expect to be supported and assisted by their children and relations in their old age, and in their dying moments attended by those dear to them. If they are compelled to throw themselves on the public for their support, let them be taught to look to it only as a last resource, destitute of any recommendation beyond that of security from positive want. If we look at the extraordinary scale of allowance obtained by the labourer, and given to the soldier, pauper, and prisoner, and convicted felon, we cannot but acknowledge that it seems to us a lure from honesty and loyalty, to the poorhouse and the prison, to pauperism and crime—a lure which, we fear, has already been too effective to that purpose.\*

But to return to the mischief which must accrue from mal-administration in any system. If any alteration is made in the law, the cause of mischief which is known must be guarded against by not trusting too great a power in the first place in the hands of those who have an interest to misuse it; secondly, in the hands of those who have no interest to use it well. For examples of abuse of this power, look on the one hand to the practice of the farmers paying their labourers out of the poor rate; on the other, to that of the county magistrates agreeing to it. Nothing could so much tend to prevent the mischief which we

\* Independent labourer, 122oz. of food—Soldier, 168oz.—Pauper, 151—Suspected thief, 181—Convicted thief, 239—Transported thief, 333.

foresee, as the arrangement of workhouses on a very large scale, placing the whole management in the hands of a well-paid officer, under the control of a select committee, without any appeal from them. An example of a large establishment of this kind which answers completely, is found in Mr. Henderson's Report from Liverpool. A workhouse of a large extent, capable of containing 1750 paupers, under an intelligent governor, has completely succeeded in lowering the expenditure and checking pauperism. The whole account is very interesting, but too long for an extract; one observation of the governor is well worth attending to, as we believe it to be strictly true, that "1800 paupers are as easily managed as 500." From most of the large manufacturing towns the report is equally satisfactory, and it is here we see the success of the select vestry act, because in these large towns a number of well informed, intelligent individuals are found to form the vestry, men whose judgment can be relied on, and who have an interest that everything should be well managed; and here too the workhouses, from their size, admit of classification—of adequate means of employment—of schools of industry, and above all, of governors of superior attainments, and of great respectability. Still we look on the workhouse system as an effectual remedy only to a certain class of evils, of those which arise from the allowance system; these are the most pressing and should be cured first. This system alone will be no cure for the ill inherent in the principle, which induces any description of persons to look for relief or support from any other source but their own care, industry and forethought. Yet we have proofs that this system has been adopted with the best effect, and it has this great advantage, that it acts together with many other remedies, as the savings banks, the friendly insurance societies, and the allotment system. These, especially the two former, are antidotes against the principle of pauperism; but by the present system they are discountenanced by the employer, and consequently seldom had recourse to by the labourer. From the evidence of several persons we find, that, where the allowance system is adhered to, the farmer will seldom employ any labourer, who is known to have money in the savings bank, or property of any kind.

A measure has been tried, which has gained some advocates in the agricultural districts; we allude to the labour rate, a measure very much of the same nature as the act above found fault with, and the allowance system consequent on it, a measure advocated only in a season of great difficulty and rendered advisable only by the former temporising system. Had relief never been allowed at the houses of the poor, the allowance and scale system never would have been suffered, and

then the labour rate would never have been thought of. The labour rate tended to increase pauperism and all the evils attendant on it; it even legalized one of the worst of those evils, the confusion of wages and relief. "Wages, considered as the result of a bargain between the capitalist and the labourer for the advantage of both parties, can hardly be said to exist under the labour rate any more than under the allowance system." Under the labour rate too, "the lot of every man is the same; every one must be employed as allotted, even by the master who is most unwilling to have him and whom he is most unwilling to serve; in addition to this, that which Lord Mansfield called "a radical defect in our poor law system" is by this measure carried to its extreme, *"that the poor should be confined to their respective parishes."* His lordship added *"there should be no clog or restraint."* Were the labour rate generally in use, not only would the poor who are in their own parishes be confined thereto, but labourers working in parishes to which they did not belong, however beneficially employed for themselves or for their masters, would be sent back to their own parishes and prohibited seeking at large work most suitable for them, being compelled to do at home that which they least understood, and which might be least fit for them. In the volume before us we are happy to find that the labour rate is no where recommended, but always described as a delusive measure, and as one capable of producing great injustice and oppression. That some benefit was derived from it, where well managed, we do not deny; where things have arrived at the very worst, every change must be for the better, and so where the allowance system had been carried to its full extent, the labour rate was hailed by the farmers as a measure of great wisdom, but even the trial of one year undeceived most of them. It is with the utmost satisfaction we see at the head of the Poor Law Commission, the name of that distinguished prelate, by whose wisdom and eloquence this time-serving measure was so effectually opposed. We feel confident that under his lordship's auspices a Report will be sent to his majesty suggesting some remedy which will tend not only to palliate the symptoms, but radically to cure the malady.

But were the allowance system at once declared illegal as long as the bastardy laws remain, we cannot but expect that immorality will be prevalent among the lower orders. These laws, which were at first intended to punish immorality, have, by their unfortunate connexion with the poor laws, most effectually encouraged it. Licentiousness, perjury, and an utter contempt of the sacredness of marriage, have been the fruits of them. By the dread of them, the more innocent victim

of seduction has been terrified into infanticide—by them the prostitute is induced to add extortion and perjury to her other crimes—by them, as at present administered, a premium is given to unchastity. For we find that the allowance ordered for an illegitimate child is generally greater, and often double, that which is fixed for the support of one that is legitimate. Among other instances Mr. Cowell states that, at Basford, Notts,

“A widow, with a legitimate child, is never allowed more than 1s. 6d. sometimes less, and sometimes nothing,—depends on her earnings. A woman with bastards is sure of 2s. a week with each—yes, even if she were earning 20s. a week.”

The order on the father is for 2s. a week, but depends on his circumstances:—a direct premium to a woman to forswear her child to the richest, and a premium also to her yielding to a rich seducer. The punishment inflicted on the mother has seldom any effect but to harden her, and punishment is often suffered by the father in consequence of perjury which he cannot contradict. In our knowledge, a young man was this year committed to the house of correction in Essex for disobedience of orders of bastardy, and, after he had been imprisoned three weeks, the girl who had sworn the child acknowledged she was perjured and applied to re-swear the child to another. If no provision were made for bastards, unless separated from their mother, and the mother punished on application for relief, we feel sure there would be fewer illegitimate children; and it might be advisable that the maintenance of bastards should be at the expense of the county, not the parish; but this arrangement must alter the law of settlement.\* We will conclude our observations on the subject of the bastardy laws with the very sensible comments of Mr. Cowell.

“The theory of a law—the text of a law is nothing. The practice of the law is the real law. It is according to the practice that men shape their actions, and according to nothing else. The practice of the English law respecting bastardy is shortly this—Whenever a woman is pregnant of a bastard child, which the overseer apprehends may become chargeable to the parish, or whenever a woman applies for relief for her bastard after having given birth to it, the overseer has power to compel her on oath to declare the father, and then to compel him to pay the parish the amount of whatever order of maintenance the magistrates may make upon him. The sole object of the legislature is to save ex-

\* Among political economists, the law of settlement seems as much objected to as any part of the poor laws. It did not exist in its present complicated case until long after the statute of Elizabeth. Birth at first, and afterwards three years residence, gave the pauper a claim on the parish. If not entirely repealed, we cannot see why the law should not be restored to its ancient simplicity.

pense to the parish. The effect of it is, as might be foreseen, to promote bastardy—to make want of chastity on the woman's part, the shortest road to obtaining either a husband or a competent maintenance; and to encourage extortion and perjury. It would be impossible for the heart of man or demon to devise a more effective instrument for extinguishing every noble feeling in the female heart—for blighting the sweetest domestic affections—for degrading the males and females of that portion of the community connected with the receipt of parish relief—than this diabolical institution.”—pp. 391, 392.

Strong as are these expressions, we believe they do not state more than the truth. We feel convinced the morality of the lower orders would be promoted rather than injured by the total repeal of the bastardy laws. We see so much positive evil in the continuance of them, that no government can work any efficient reform in the poor laws, as long as the law of bastardy remains in force.

We have hitherto purposely omitted noticing that part of these extracts which refers to the riots in the disturbed districts, because the notice of that subject could not well be mixed up with general observations on the poor laws. The origin of those acts of incendiarism and riot seems still involved in mystery, though the spread of the spirit of disturbance, when once roused, is more easily accounted for. We are told “that the riots in the north east part of the rape of Hastings commenced simultaneously on the 5th and 6th of November, 1830. The farmers observed that their labourers all at once left their work: they were taken away by night by a systematic arrangement: no leader could be identified, but bills were run up at the public houses in the evening, and in the morning a stranger came and paid.” It appears then, there were other agents than the labourers dissatisfied with their allowance, or the farmers quarrelling with tithes; these were good tools in the hands of others; it is true the former imbibed the spirit of disturbance with readiness, and the latter did not attempt to subdue it. The seed of rebellion, for it was nothing less, was sown in the right soil, in Sussex and East Kent, where half the populace has been engaged in smuggling, “where,” says Mr. Majendie, “the labourers have acquired the habit of acting in large gangs by night, and of systematic resistance to authority. High living is become essential to them, and they cannot reconcile themselves to the moderate pay of lawful industry.” The peaceably inclined were forced to conspire with their audacious companions, and the smaller farmers, who felt they could not resist, consented to add their grievances to the common lot, and seeing that the determined hands who were at work seemed likely to carry their point, thought they should be



on the right side, and, if they were forced to pay higher wages, should free themselves from an adequate burden of tithes. That the mal-administration of the poor laws aggravated these causes cannot be doubted, and that it might of itself produce calamities equally to be dreaded. The very principle of this mal-administration is, that it undertakes to do more than it is able to do. Beneficial occupancy has, in some cases, as at Cholesbury, been annihilated by the operation of the poor laws, and where there is no beneficial occupancy, there can be no rate and no relief. The poor then must be in a state of as desperate want, as if there was no law for their relief at all; and their recklessness will be the greater because they have always been taught to depend on the law, and not on themselves, for support. But this was not exactly the case in the disturbed districts. However the labourers might be taught to think they were aggrieved by low pay, and however the farmers might persuade them that they were unable to pay them higher wages in consequence of the alleged extortion of the clergyman, yet these were causes of the increase of the disturbances, but not of their beginning; indeed the increase and spread were unfortunately promoted by the dissensions between the parish officers and magistrates, and by the yielding and timid conduct of the latter. An efficient police can be the only sure preventive against the recurrence of such scenes. An alteration in the administration and operation of the poor laws alone will remove those causes, which must render the spirit of disturbance so fatally contagious—the discontent and habitual idleness of the lower orders.

We have trespassed on our readers' attention much further than we intended, and still we find we have commented on a very small portion of the information contained in this volume; but we cannot conclude without making an extract of the inferences which Mr. Chadwick has drawn from the large body of evidence which he collected.

1. "That the existing system of poor laws in England is destructive to the industry, forethought, and honesty of the labourer: to the wealth and morality of the employers of labour and of the owners of property; and to the mutual good will and happiness of all. That it collects and chains down the labourers in masses, without any reference to the demand for their labour. That while it increases their numbers it impairs the means by which the fund for their subsistence is to be reproduced, and impairs the motives for using those means which it suffers to exist: and that every year and every day these evils are becoming more overwhelming in magnitude and less susceptible of cure.

2. "That of these evils, that which consists merely in the amount of the rates, an evil great when considered by itself, but trifling when compared with the moral effects which I am deploring, might be much diminished by the combination of workhouses, and by substituting a

rigid administration and contract management for the existing scenes of neglect, extravagance, jobbing, and fraud.

3. "That by an alteration, or even according to the suggestion of many witnesses an abolition, of the law of settlement, a great part, or according to the latter suggestion the whole, of the enormous sums now spent in litigation and removals might be saved; the labourers might be distributed according to the demand for labour; the emigration from Ireland of labourers of inferior habits checked, the oppression and cruelty to which the unmarried labourers and those who have acquired any property are now subjected, might, according to the extent of the alteration, be diminished or utterly put an end to.

4. "That if no relief were allowed to be given to the able bodied or to their families, except in return for adequate labour or in a well-regulated workhouse, the worst of the existing sources of evil, the allowance system, would immediately disappear; a broad line would be drawn between the independent labourer and the paupers; the number of paupers would be immediately diminished, in consequence of the reluctance to accept relief on such terms; and would be still further diminished in consequence of the increased fund for the payment of wages occasioned by the diminution of rates, and would ultimately, instead of forming a constantly increasing proportion of our whole population, become a small, well-defined part of it, capable of being provided for at an expense less than one half of the present poor rates.

5. "That the proposed changes would tend powerfully to promote providence and forethought, not only in the daily concerns of life, but in the most important of points, marriage; and lastly, that it is essential to the working of every one of these improvements that the administration of the poor laws, should be intrusted, as to their general superintendence, to one central authority with extensive powers, and as to their details, to paid officers, acting under the consciousness of constant superintendence and strict responsibility."—pp. 338, 339.

There is little doubt that these valuable suggestions will not be lost sight of in the recommendation of any plan of improvement by the commissioners. It may not be advisable at once to make so great a change in the law of the land, but some alteration is loudly called for. Unless some alteration takes place immediately, Cholesbury will not be a solitary instance of a parish thrown out of cultivation and unable to support its poor. It is rather extraordinary that such a case was provided for by the very first statute that established poor rates. Yet it is a case of which few examples are on record from that time to this. But these must become more frequent; for in the home counties even now, through the pressure of the rates, many farmers are insolvent; and land, when given up by one tenant, can hardly be provided with another. Nor is this all: the labourers are daily growing a more discontented, more dissatisfied, and more demoralized race; and our peasantry, instead of being the nation's pride, are likely to become sources of disgrace, and danger, and perpetual disturbance.

## ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.



THE department of our publication which has hitherto possessed the character of an "Ecclesiastical Record," has consisted chiefly, if not entirely, of the names of "Clergymen preferred" to dignities or benefices; or "Clergymen appointed" to particular situations; or "Clergymen deceased," with a designation of the Preferment become vacant by their deaths, the County, the Diocese, and the Patron; the list of Ordinations, and the usual proceedings of the Universities. This department we intend very considerably to alter and enlarge; and we have been actuated by several reasons. In the first place, the former plan seemed to contain matter, which, while it often occupied more space than we could well afford, was scarcely adapted to a work of critical discussion or historical research: matter too which is either to be found in other publications, or which may be easily, and perhaps usefully, gathered into a cheap and separate form, and put forth, every year, as a Clerical Calendar and Church of England Directory.

Again, such a record appeared inadequate to the conjuncture in which we are placed. Something more is demanded, by the progress of Christianity, on the one side; and, on the other, by the critical state of the Church of England. We are anxious also to put ourselves into a more immediate intercourse and connection with the ministers and the friends of the Establishment, by providing such a register of events, and such a view of affairs, as may invite them to send us any *facts* of which they may happen to be in possession—any *plans* which they may wish to propose—any *information* which they think serviceable to an undertaking which stands forward, consistently and temperately, steadfastly and honestly, to defend the interests of religion, and the ecclesiastical constitution of the country, in the hour of trial—the hour of peril—and, it may be, the hour of subversion.

We propose, therefore, to give, not a mere catalogue of individual names, or occurrences which relate only to individuals; but a general survey of the times, and the transactions of the times, as they affect the cause of the Church, and the promotion of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We have no wish or purpose to interfere unfairly with other excellent periodicals—there is room enough for us all; but we would complete our own idea of what our title includes—"a Theological Review,"—an "Ecclesiastical Record,"—and a "Critical" tribunal, where all things shall be judged upon "British" principles of candour and truth, and by the standard of a sound and genuine Christianity. As in the body, then, of our Review, we shall take up those books, and those topics of discussion, which either are most important, or from peculiar circumstances demand peculiar regard; so, at the end, we shall endeavour to supply previous omissions, and almost fill up the whole circle of intelligence; in the hope that, from quarter to quarter, all that really requires to be known and understood with reference to the Church may be found in some one or other of our pages.

Our aim, in short, is to present an ecclesiastical history of the period, brief

but comprehensive; looking at all events which have taken place; all subjects which are engaging the public mind; all measures set on foot by the Government, and all projects agitated among the people; observing all schemes of general or parochial improvement; paying attention to all the reports of all societies, religious, or charitable, or educational, and all attempts at human amelioration by the philanthropy of legislatures, or associations, or individuals; as, for instance, by emigration, or allotment of grounds, or colonization, whether in Canada, or Van Diemen's land, or upon the Swan River, or in the Azores; and embracing, as occasion may serve, missionary labours abroad, and the state of the dioceses at home; and, as far as we have room, the obituary of distinguished persons.

In order that our readers may have some slight acquaintance at least with every thing that is going forward in relation to the church, we shall add to this digest, or summary of events, a slight notice, under a methodized arrangement, of all, or almost all, the works which have been published during the past quarter, and which come under our general plan. And here let us premise, once for all, that we should be sorry to have it considered as necessarily a disparagement to a work, if we assign to it only a cursory notice instead of an elaborate criticism; for it is abundantly obvious that many things may induce us to expatiate in an extended review, quite independent of the intrinsic value or consequence of a production, and many things again determine us to pass it over with a very few words of comment, quite distinct from any inherent worthlessness or insignificance. For example, a book may be so universally read, that to give extracts would be more than superfluous; or so excellent and so consonant to our own views, that we should have nothing to do but to express our entire concurrence and our hearty approbation. On the contrary, a volume may be very foolish, very wicked, and very absurd, and yet so calculated to mislead and to work mischief, that it becomes requisite to visit it with a lengthened exposure; or it may be so made up of mingled and opposite qualities, that more time must be employed to separate the good from the evil; or it may call for a more anxious commendation, because, though excellent in itself, it may not be on the high road to immediate popularity. Be it also understood, that, in affording but a short notice in the first instance, we shall not regard ourselves as altogether precluded from afterwards bestowing a criticism more careful and minute.

It is our intention, as far as our limits will allow us, to introduce strictures upon *foreign* theology, and likewise upon *foreign* politics and statistics, and literature, as far as they are connected with the moral and religious well-being of man.

These few observations will suffice to make our plan intelligible. Well are we aware that to sketch such a plan is a far more easy matter than to execute it. We scarcely expect that our execution of it will satisfy even ourselves; but we shall do what we can. We cannot promise to be able and eloquent; but we do promise to be faithful and impartial. We do pledge ourselves to pursue that course which we believe to be right, without fear and without favour, because we know ourselves to be impelled by higher and better motives than worldly reputation or worldly profit, although we have not the affectation

to pretend that motives such as these have no influence over our minds. They, indeed, who can penetrate and appreciate the actual state of the Church, who are truly sensible how she is assailed by invective and fraud, by brazen mendacity and insidious slander; and alas! how she is torn by disunion and weakened by dissension, and at times seems almost to court the doom of a "house divided against itself;" who perceive how fierce and sanguine are her enemies without, and how they, upon whom she has counted as friends, are some of them intemperate and injudicious,—some lukewarm and faint-hearted,—some, we even apprehend, false and hollow; such persons do not require to be told that to carry forward an ecclesiastical review is not to tread a flowery path of ease, and comfort, and cheap applause; but to fight, under growing disadvantages, the battle of a dispirited side; to espouse the cause of many who are ready in their alarms to give up their own cause for lost; to incur the obloquy and misrepresentation of the million; and, what is ten thousand times more painful, sometimes to displease the very parties whom there is the most earnest and conscientious desire to propitiate and support.

Let us only request, both for our general strictures, and for the Record which we are about to commence, that, if we agree in essentials, our readers will not be easily offended, where, in particular points, our sentiments are different. Things have been thrown into a position so strange and complicated, that variances of opinion upon minor points must and will occur; but it is still a consolation that there are certain fixed principles and immoveable landmarks which can serve always for our common guidance.

It is high time, however, to leave these generalities; nor, in fact, should we have dwelt upon them so long, but that, on the one hand, it was necessary to explain our views; and that, on the other, few particular events have happened during the recess of Parliament; and that, although we begin our change of plan with the beginning of the year and the volume, we have thought that the best starting-post for a regular summary would be the first of January, 1834: and that it might create confusion to give any details of transactions, which had happened in the conclusion of the previous year.

There are, as might be expected, various rumours afloat with regard to the alterations meditated by government in ecclesiastical affairs. Sundry particulars even have been mentioned to us; and the popular opinion seems to be, that the plan attempted by the legislature will be what is called a "*searching and radical reform.*" As, however, political prophecies are usually falsified by the event, and as we may be mistaken in our own anticipations, we shall reserve our opinions until we can grapple with some specific propositions, instead of perhaps contending with shadows, and beating the air.

Even on the matter of Church-rates, we shall now keep silence; for the Church is put on its defence: and we know how much advantage will be taken of particular admissions, which they who make them would very possibly *not* make if they could see their bearing upon *ulterior* measures, and their connection with the whole scheme in contemplation by their adversaries. It is quite obvious that churchmen, and especially clergymen, can have no partial attachment to the system of church-rates *for its own sake*. It is not their *interest* to

perpetuate an impost which brings them into disagreeable collision with their neighbours and their parishioners: but in these days, when, even in the metropolis, we hear of some churches being *pulled down*, and others being left in a dingy and discreditable state because there is an unwillingness to advance money for the purpose of having them *whitewashed*, there ought to be, and there must be, some security that the temples of God will not be allowed to fall into dilapidation and dirt; and we may remember how even the heathen poet could connect the anger of heaven with a disregard of the sacred edifices of the land. Men may of course talk about voluntary contributions, having formed the very prudent resolve that their *own* contribution shall be *nil*; or they may wish to throw the whole burden upon the shoulders of the minister; albeit in times when a clergyman's income is to be legislated down, like the tapering dimensions of a lady's waist,

*"Small by degrees, and beautifully less."*

But yet we are not quite without hopes that some wise and statesmanlike mode of meeting the difficulty will be devised and adopted.

Be this as it may, things are in progress, of which the consequences will infinitely transcend any adjustment of church-rates. There are now three parties into which, with reference to the Church, our population must be divided. There is, first, the party of the more violent dissenters, who wish, upon principle, that the whole ecclesiastical establishment should be swept away; and they are aided and abetted by a class of persons, immeasurably less respectable, who bear a determined hatred to *compulsory* payments of every kind and description whatsoever—*non-compulsory* payments seldom being allowed to give them much disquietude. There is, secondly, the party which would alter the Articles, and the Liturgy, and the offices of the Church, and so widen the door for the return of wandering sheep into the fold; who, perhaps, however, would not choose to come back; or who might even assume the shape and bearing of certain more destructive animals, not long after their re-admission. There is a third party, who, while they profess a readiness to correct any real grievance, and abolish any practical abuse, are reluctant even to talk about concessions, until they can be explicitly and unequivocally told upon what points, and to what extent, concessions will be demanded.

For our own parts, we confess that it is an object with us to force out, as far as we can, the genuine and *esoteric* opinions of the several classes of dissenters and infidels; in the hope both that *ministers* will be put upon their guard, and that when it is seen how stern, how unrelenting, how implacable, are the foes of the Church, the friends and ministers of the Church will be bound into closer bonds of amity and good will among themselves.

And here we come to a subject on which we should be well pleased to say nothing, if we had not inflexibly determined to speak *out* upon all points which concern the honour and advantage of the Church of England. We hear, not merely of addresses to particular dignitaries, who might well deserve any and every compliment and mark of respect, but of Church Associations, at Oxford and other places, either formed or projected among clergymen. The bias of our

opinion, much as we may respect many individuals who have been named as likely to belong to them, is certainly unfavourable to all such unions. We doubt their necessity—we doubt their utility—we doubt their discretion; and the grounds of our opinion are, that the clergy have other and more legitimate modes of making known their sentiments, either collectively or individually; that associations tend to produce counter-associations, and that thus new sources of the bitterest hostility and irritation may be engendered and kept up; that they might derange the regular system and gradation of ecclesiastical government and order; and that such unions must have the appearance of being either “Churchmen against Churchmen,” which is a spectacle which we should deprecate and deplore; or “Church against Laity,” which is a spectacle which we should still more deplore and still more deprecate; or “Church against Government,” which is an exhibition that, without any secret consciousness of time-serving propensities, we are inclined to discourage, until there occurs some gross case of provocation and aggression. And as a distinction has been studiously drawn between England and Ireland—where, indeed, bishoprics are dropping away, not like stars setting, but stars extinguished—they, whose apprehensions are most fearful as to the future, have yet scarcely a right to *array themselves* against the government on account of anything which in England has been actually done. For whatever intentions may be entertained and *circular missives sent*, the abolition of all legal provision for the clergy is now openly advocated only by the radical regenerators of our large town; and the scheme of expelling the bishops “at one fell swoop” from the House of Lords is put into a tangible form only by the wise heads of Mr. Rippon and his constituents at Gateshead.

We close these observations by saying, that all which we have since seen and heard confirms us in two opinions, which we have already pronounced. The one is, that everything which is worth a struggle will be gained or lost, just as the clergy, in their respective stations throughout the kingdom, succeed or fail in securing the affections of the *people*: just as they look, not to ministers, who are comparatively powerless, whether for good or evil; not to political friends or patrons, who have no power at all; but to the mass of English men and women with whom they are brought in contact. The other is, that the *lay* members of the Church of England ought now to stand prominently forward. *They*, if they love the Church, and think its existence necessary to the soundness and purity of religion—they, we confidently re-assert, ought to stand forward to refute those outrageous and barefaced calumnies which are levelled against the rights and character of the clergy at meeting after meeting, and which are so outrageous, and so barefaced, that they might only provoke a smile, if we were not certain that there are thousands so stupid that they believe them, and thousands more so unprincipled, that, although they know better, yet, from sordid motives, they pretend to believe them.

Among other mighty questions, not strictly theological, or altogether ecclesiastical, the two, perhaps, which, either on account of their intrinsic moment, or their intimate connection with the religious and social welfare of a people, or

their pressing demands upon our attention from accidental and temporary circumstances, most claim a deep and diligent scrutiny, are the subject of the Poor Laws, and the subject of National Education. That they are closely interwoven between themselves, at once in a moral and financial point of view, is a position to which all who are acquainted with both, or either, of them will instantly assent. Of the present state of the Poor-Law question, some account will be found in another place. Of the prospective expedients which may be devised we entertain a good hope, unless, indeed, we have already arrived at a crisis in which "*nec mala, nec remedia malorum, pati possumus*;" unless a degraded and pauper population is unable to endure those wholesome restorations which must conduce to its future comfort, although they may not be conformable to its existing habits. The formation of a *Central Board* seems to be generally expected, and "*centralization*" is the fashion of the day. We shall not enter into discussion upon the abstract principle, rather reserving our sentiments until the Boards are actually appointed, and the details respecting them are fixed; but thus much we may suggest, that an attempt altogether to *continentalize* our institutions will be neither popular nor wise. And this remark might naturally lead us to the topic of national education; but our space unfortunately will not permit us to deal as we could wish with the mistakes in theory, and the misstatements of facts, which, upon the matter of national education—whether it is to be by the state, or by individuals and associations—are now spread, and reiterated, and multiplied among us. We shall forthwith, however, devote our closest attention to the subject; and we have a perfect confidence that, from the data which we possess, we shall be enabled to rectify many errors; and to throw light upon the thick confusion and obscurity of ideas which now generally prevail both as to the introduction of foreign systems, and as to the working of our own. And this we are anxious to do in our next publication, because, about that time, or shortly after that time, the subject will probably be brought before the legislature, and take a strong hold of the public mind.

While we keep our own eye upon those schemes of parochial melioration which are now, we rejoice to say, eagerly caught up through every district of the empire, we shall be glad to receive any authentic and practical communications; and also any information, from actual experience, as to the feasibility of the annuity plan attached to savings' banks.

With respect to the "*Reports of Societies*," we must now be in arrears; for, as our present sketch has rather the nature of an experiment, or a prospectus, we have not left ourselves room to digest either the transactions and statements of the associations themselves, or our own comments upon them, into any shape of lucid and systematic arrangement. The general question as to the proper sphere and province of associations, and the best mode of effecting their legitimate objects, is one which, in the present state of society and social science, deserves and claims a far more careful and comprehensive examination than, as far as our information extends, it has ever hitherto obtained.

We subjoin a few notices of books, without, however, promising any uniform



adherence to the division of subjects, which we have now adopted for our immediate convenience. In fact, whether philosophical classification is at all practicable, where several departments of theology so perpetually cross one another, and mingle with one another, and where the various works come to us, each after each, in different periods of the quarter, is a point upon which we feel considerable difficulty, and upon which practical experience will be the safest guide.

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## RELIGION IN ITS CONNECTION WITH SCIENCE.

*Bampton Lectures.* By Frederick Nolan, LL.D. F.R.S. 1. *The Analogy of Revelation and Science.* Published by J. H. Parker, Oxford, and J. G. Rivington, London. 1833. 2. *Revelation and Science.* By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A. F.R.S. Oxford, printed for J. H. Parker, and J. G. Rivington, London, 1833.

CHRISTIANITY has passed through many ordeals; the ordeal of historical research, the ordeal of critical scholarship, the ordeal of logical and metaphysical investigation. It has now to go through the ordeal of *physical science*. It must be submitted to the test of astronomical and geological, of chemical and physiological, phenomena; and we make no complaint. We are quite content that it should be subjected to any fair trial, conducted upon the legitimate principles of enlarged and accurate reasoning. We have not a doubt—not a shadow of doubt,—about the ultimate result. We seek not to arrest the progress of physical science, or divert it a hair's breadth from its proper course; but we do think the manner of instituting and carrying on the examination to be a matter of vital moment. We are even more afraid of friends than antagonists; and the last two publications emanating from members of the Church, under somewhat imposing circumstances, have considerably increased our apprehensions. Dr. Nolan and Mr. Powell rush into the opposite extremes. Dr. Nolan has a fanciful theory, by which he endeavours sometimes to oppose Scriptural to inductive philosophy, and sometimes to torture the Mosaic account into a verbal and literal rather than a substantial accordance with present appearances and modern systems. Mr. Powell maintains the monstrous proposition, that the truth or falsehood, in *any* sense, of the physical accounts recorded in the Bible, cannot affect the argument in support of Christianity; in short, that it matters nothing if we allow all the physics of the Bible, and a great part of the history, to be an “absolute contradiction” to the actual facts. Therefore, if we understand him aright, he is prepared to give up the origin of mankind from a single pair,—the deluge,—the six days, or periods of creation; and utterly heedless, as it seems, what *doctrines hinge* upon these occurrences, or to what extent God's moral government is here represented as connected with his physical dispensations, he actually asserts, in substance, that if these things are proved to be *pure fictions*, the truth and authenticity of our faith will remain altogether unshaken and inviolate. We know not what Mr. Powell's faith

may be : but let him not implicate in such tenets the faith of other Christians.

But we stop. At this moment we intended only to state two things, the one, our assurance that Christianity will walk through this trial, as through every other, without hurt or blemish; the other, our conviction, nevertheless, that the question of physical science in its relation to the religion of Jesus Christ, is just the most important and the most difficult question, which, when we consider the spirit of the age, and the tenor of modern studies, the whole range of divine and human knowledge can present;—the very question, which requires to be handled with the nicest tact, the most delicate discretion, the most extensive information, the most cautious judgment. Was Dr. Nolan,—notwithstanding his acquirements, which are indisputably great,—quite the man to preach the Bampton Lectures before the University of Oxford on such a subject? And was Mr. Baden Powell quite the man to answer him? We really feel that the credit of the University is to a certain degree involved : and on this account it is, that we rose up from a rapid glance into these two publications, with more uncomfortable and distressing feelings, than we can possibly express. Dr. Nolan's publication is unsatisfactory :—but Mr. Baden Powell's is far *worse* than unsatisfactory. *For his sake*, we *now* waive the inquiry : for his sake, we postpone it until our next number. We trust, that, in the mean time, he will take some opportunity to retract, or at least modify his preposterous and heretical propositions. If he does neither, we shall be compelled to show the calamitous conclusions, to which his premises inevitably lead ; and to speak of him and his school, in terms which we had hoped never to apply to a Savilian professor of Geometry ; or a man, who had preached in St. Mary's pulpit at Oxford, and re-printed a sermon in reply to the Bampton Lectures ; or, in short, to any class of *English Divines*, who had not openly seceded from the Established Church.

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#### HISTORICAL DIVINITY.

*The Arians of the Fourth Century.* By J. H. Newman, M.A. London. Rivington and Co. 1833.

THIS is one of those learned and excellent works, which it may seem almost unjust to throw among a miscellany of notices : and we shall be glad, if we can find an opportunity, to give hereafter a more lengthened account of it. It deserves every eulogium both for erudition and judgment. We hope, not merely for Mr. Newman's sake, but for the sake of orthodox Christianity, that the same causes, which unfitted it for a place in "The Theological Library," may not operate to diminish its general circulation. But, unhappily, these are not days when deep inquiry and toilsome thought are much encouraged and appreciated.

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CONTROVERSIAL, EXEGETICAL, CRITICAL, AND PHILOLOGICAL  
WORKS.

*Meek on the Errors of the Church of Rome.* London. J. Hatchard and Son. 1834.

MR. MECK seems much more afraid of the progress of Popery in this island than we happen to be. But the question, whether the number of Roman Catholics is increasing in England and Scotland with a ratio beyond the general increase of the population, is one upon which we are unwilling to enter without sufficient data before us, or sufficient time carefully to weigh and examine them. At any rate, it must be well for the Protestant to understand the distinctive character of his own faith, and to be furnished with arms by which he may defend it. For this purpose he will find Mr. Meek's book of value and of service.

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*Hulsean Lectures for the year 1832.* By the Rev. J. J. Blunt. London. John Murray. 1833.

WE have great pleasure in recommending these lectures. They are full of honest, orthodox, sterling divinity: and, even where there could not be much novelty of matter, there is a manly and vigorous originality of tone. The style is racy and energetic rather than polished: it resembles a new strong wine—good and sound; but wanting the softness and mellowness which age might give it. Was it quite worth while to attack a popular History of the Jews from the University pulpit, and to bring so prominently forward, even for the sake of demolishing, the flimsy fabric of Mr. Milman's theories?

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*Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion, with Notes and Illustrations.* Not by the Editor of "Captain Rock's Memoirs." 2 vols. Dublin. Richard Milliken and Son. 1833.

WE dislike the principle of this book, which proceeds merely upon the alteration of another man's idea. Mr. Moore, in writing "The Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," was quite out of his element, and quite out of his depth. But it is better to write a reply than an imitation. The work before us shows ability, and shows reading: but we much question its success; or rather, to use the author's not very felicitous phraseology, we should express this opinion, "*senza dubbio*, I mean without doubt."—p. 177.

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1. *Nine Sermons on the Trinity. Preached in Rostruvor Church.* By the Rev. Edward John Evans, M.A. Vicar of Kilbrony. Dublin. William Curry, jun. and Co.; Simpkin and Marshall, London. 1833.
  2. *The Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity deduced, &c.* By a Member of the Church of England. London. Rivington and Co. 1833.
  3. *Unitarian Christianity demonstrated from the Bible.* By a late Student of the Dublin University. Third Edition. Hunter and Co. London; Shaw and Sons, Dublin.

4. *Deliverance from Evil, or Rational Misticism explained.* London. R. Hunter. 1833.

HERE we have "bane and antidote" together. Mr. Evans, indeed, and his anonymous coadjutor, might overthrow more doughty antagonists than any whom they seem likely to meet. The Unitarian publications, which we have lately seen, are, with scarcely an exception, hardly worthy even of their own cause. Those before us are mere drivel: and we forget their venom in the complete consciousness of their impotence. It rejoices us to find, that, although among the members of Mechanics Institutes, and the smaller fry of philosophers, of little wit and no reading, Unitarianism may be making its miserable way, still the general talent and intellect of the country are altogether against it: and that even in our courts of law champions start up, most willing and most able to defend the cause of Trinitarian Christianity.

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1. *Girdlestone on the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia.* London. Hatchard and Son. 1833.
2. *The Book of the Unveiling. An Exposition, with Notes.* London. Samuel Bagster. 1833. 4to.
3. *The Time of the End. A Series of Lectures on Prophetical Chronology.* By the Rev. W. A. Holmes, B. A. Chancellor of Cashel, &c. &c. &c. London. Seeley and Burnside.

HERE we have a collection of works upon subjects which have ever baffled human penetration. Mr. Girdlestone (*not* the Vicar of Sedgley) writes with more caution and prudence than the rest; but we cannot profess to be satisfied with his arguments. "The Book of the Unveiling," notwithstanding the affectation of the title, does not pretend to look into futurity. The other may either edify or divert the curious reader, who wishes to see it proved by five lines of demonstration, that the "Time of the End" is to be in 1836, although many other epochs have been ascertained as the final period by methods equally conclusive.

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1. *Modern Claims to the Gifts of the Spirit.* By the Rev. William Goode, M.A. London. J. Hatchard and Son. 1833.
2. *Two Discourses upon the Trial of the Spirits.* By the Rev. Henry Blunt, Rector of Upper Chelsea. London. J. Hatchard and Son. 1833.

OF these two works, Mr. Goode's is a careful and convincing exposure of the claims to immediate inspiration put forth by some modern fanatics. He sets the Scriptural evidence upon the subject in a strong light: and he shows, from historical proofs, that there is nothing of novelty in the enthusiasts or impostors, with whom we are now pestered; but that there have been men in all ages, who have, in like manner,

"Play'd their fantastic tricks before high heav'n  
To make the angels weep."

The quotation may not be quite exact; but no matter. Mr. Blunt's sermons add little to the argument; but they display the pious and Christian spirit, characteristic of their truly excellent author. Of course, Mr. Blunt knows much better than we can know the circumstances by which he is surrounded: for ourselves, we should hardly have deemed it requisite to notice such frantic follies from the pulpit. Why speak in *unknown* tongues? why speak things, which, when interpreted, appear unworthy of inspiration, and even interpretation? But we fear that we are formed of less indulgent materials than Mr. Blunt. We can only say, that we look upon the pretensions of these men with an ineffable contempt; and upon the men themselves with an ineffable compassion.

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*Christian Experience, as displayed in the Life and Writings of St. Paul.* By the Author of "Christian Retirement." Second Edition. London. Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1833.

A devout and agreeable production, which we can read with pleasure, even after Mr. Henry Blunt's admirable lectures upon nearly the same subject.

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#### VOLUMES OF PRACTICAL DIVINITY.

*A Course of Sermons for the Year.* By the Rev. Johnson Grant, M.A. Rector of Binbrooke, &c. London: Rivington, Hatchard; Straker and Drew, Kentish Town. 1833. 10s. 6d.

THESE Sermons are replete with amiable feeling and pleasing language. Many readers, we dare say, would be charmed with them. To our taste they are somewhat deficient in the lofty qualities of fervour and strength; they seem to want *pith*; and they too often descend to the mere *prettinesses* of poetry. But we should not wish to be harsh, even if harshness were deserved, (and certainly it is not,) with so able and excellent a Minister of the Gospel as Mr. Grant has been for many years.

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1. *Plain Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical, adapted to a Country Congregation.* By the Rev. Sir C. Hardinge, Bart. A.M. London: J. G. and F. Rivington. Vol. II. 1833.
2. *Family and Parochial Sermons.* By the Rev. W. Shepherd, Curate of Cheddington, Bucks. London: J. G. and F. Rivington.
3. *Sermons.* By the Rev. Richard Cattermole, B.D. London: B. Fellowes.
4. *The Better Covenant; a Series of Discourses.* By the Rev. Francis Goode, M.A. Lecturer of Clapham. London: Hatchard and Son. 1833.

OF these Sermons, which we put together because they may be all acceptable in their way, they who like a more copious and poetical diction will prefer Mr. Cattermole's; they, who like the tone which is called *Evangelical*, will prefer Mr. Goode's; and they, who like practical and homely Sermons, which may be useful in any family or parish, will prefer Sir C. Hardinge and Mr. Shepherd's.

## OCCASIONAL DISCOURSES AND TRACTS.

1. *Charge by the Right Rev. Henry Lord Bishop of Exeter, at his Primary Visitation.* John Murray. 1833.
2. *Dr. Skinner's Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese of Aberdeen.* Brown and Co.; Grant and Co., Edinburgh; Rivington, London. 1833.
3. *Rev. E. A. Bray's Sermon at the Visitation of the Archdeacon of Totness.* Rivington. 1833.

THE Bishop of Exeter's Charge is, as might be expected from him, able and eloquent; and traces a variety of topics with a masterly and rapid pencil. We are glad to find that he gives a very cheering account of the state of popular feeling, with respect to the Church, in his important and extensive Diocese. We believe indeed that in distant and rural districts the majority of the people are still attached to the doctrines and forms of the Established Church, and the persons of their spiritual guides; but we much fear, on the other side, that in vast and busy towns, such as London, and Birmingham, and Manchester, there is a party, formidable both from numerical strength and want of principle, composed of men who favour infidelity more than dissent—men with whom it will be found impossible to keep any terms—men who would be quite satisfied to see our Churches roofless, and our population unchristianized, and our Clergy beggars upon the face of the earth. On this account we have spoken of the proceedings in a particular parish of the metropolis, with perhaps more vehemence than the occasion might seem to require. But our censures are in some degree conjectural and conditional; and if we discover hereafter that we are mistaken, we shall acknowledge our error with more pleasure than we now express our indignation.

Dr. Skinner's Charge is sound and useful; but we cannot say that Mr. Bray's Sermon is much to our taste.

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## CHARGES AND VISITATION SERMONS.

*National Apostacy considered, in a Sermon.* By John Keble, M.A. Oxford. printed by S. Collingwood. 1833.

MR. KEEBLE'S Sermon is forcible and spirited; but the excellent author must of course expect that, to many persons, his very force and determination will be displeasing; and that many others will, while professing generally to agree with him, consider the tone which he has taken as occasionally deficient in moderation.

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*The Nature and Necessity of a due Preparation for Death; a Sermon.* By the Rev. Thomas Harrison, M.A. Lecturer of St. Mary's Church, Chester. Chester, printed for John Seacome. 1833.

MR. HARRISON'S is one of the innumerable Discourses annually poured forth, which are very proper to be preached, but not of sufficient *calibre* to be published.

*Church Rates Lawful but not always expedient; a Sermon, &c.* By the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, M.A. Vicar of Sedgley, Staffordshire. London: J. G. and F. Rivington, Hatchard and Son, and L. B. Seeley and Sons. 1833.

MR. GIRDLESTONE hopes, by his numerous *brochures*, in this critical position of Ecclesiastical affairs, to do more or less of good; but we must think that he is unfortunate in the subjects which he selects, and the opportunities which he seizes. "Neither gods, nor men, nor columns," allow mediocrity to poetry; so Mr. Girdlestone may be assured that "neither gods, nor men, nor columns," nor any thing else, will allow any man to be on *both sides* when irritating or important subjects are discussed. A man may attach himself to neither party; he cannot attach himself to both. He might as well think to walk on both sides of the pavement at once, without stepping into the gutter between them.

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#### GENERAL LITERATURE IN ITS CONNECTION WITH RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT.

*Social Evils, and their Remedy.* By the Rev. Charles B. Tayler, M.A. "The Mechanic" London: Smith, Elder and Co. Cornhill. 1833.

THE design of this work would have been good, if it had been original:—the execution is only *tolerable*. The want of these two great *desiderata*,—originality of plan and striking excellence of execution, appear to have been fatal to the undertaking. Mr. Tayler's intentions were, we have no doubt, excellent.

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*The Oriental Annual, or Scenes in India; comprising Twenty-five Engravings from Original Drawings.* By William Daniell, M.A. And a Descriptive Account, by the Rev. Hobart Caunter, B. D. London: Published by Edward Bull, Holles Street, Cavendish Square. 1834.

A VOLUME quite gorgeous in its embellishments, and in its letter-press interesting, on many accounts, to the Biblical student and Christian reader. We should say more in its praise, if it had not already been so elaborately *bepuffed*.

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*Lives of Sacred Poets.* Vol. I. By R. A. Willmott, Esq. of Trinity College, Cambridge. Published by Parker, Strand, under the Direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education.

UPON the hurried and imperfect perusal which we have been enabled to give to this book, we should say of it that it was composed with great elegance of style, and displays considerable research;—and affords much information, gathered from original sources, and not hitherto brought before the public view. It is indeed delightful to retire from the bustle and disquietude of the turbulent world to the study of such biography as this. Mr. Willmott writes of Christians in the spirit of a Christian, and of poets in the spirit of a poet.

## AMERICAN WORKS.

*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By the Rev. Moses Stuart, M. A. Re-published under the Care of E. Henderson. Doct. Philos. London: Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson. 1833.

THIS is a truly valuable treatise, quite on a par with the same Author's Annotations upon the Epistle to the Romans. The preliminary matter in reply to the objections raised by German criticism, and in proof that the Epistle was written to the Hebrews and written by St. Paul, is excellent, and, we should almost say, conclusive. There are, of course, some few points, philological and exegetical, on which we differ from Mr. Stuart, for the field is vast and various; but we content ourselves with saying, that the work is most creditable to American piety and American scholarship. We fear that there are *very* few of our own divines who *could* have done it, or *would* have done it. The toil of really learned and laborious criticism is very irksome, and, with us, very ill-requited.

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*The Rule of Faith. A Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania.* By the Right Rev. Henry W. Onderdonek, D.D. Assitant Bishop of the Diocese. Philadelphia. 1833.

*Convention Sermon, on the Relation of Christianity to Civil Government in the United States.* By the Rev. J. Adams, D.D. &c. &c. Charleston. 1833.

THESE also are two small publications which do credit to the literature and piety of the United States. They well deserve perusal, which we hope they will obtain. They well deserve quotation; which, unfortunately, we are unable to give.

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WE reserve Dr. Wardlaw's Lectures on Christian Ethics and some other volumes for future examination; and in addition to the works which we have now specified, we might mention the Norrisian Prize Essay for 1832, by Mr. Myers, which is pains-taking and praise-worthy; and Mr. J. F. Russell's reply to Mr. Beverley's *slashing* libels against the Universities and Clergy of the land, which does him great credit on many accounts; and the argument *a priori* for the Being and Attributes of God, by William Gillespie; and a Concise View of the Prophecies relating to the Messiah, by William Webb Ellis, of Brasenose College, Oxford; and "Remarks on the Best Plans of School Education," by David Davison, M. A.; and a little book published by J. Vincent, at Oxford, entitled "*Seven Essays on the Social Condition of the Ancient Greeks*," which for the Scholar and the Christian possesses much interest, but which, we fear, is too learned and too classical for this utilitarian age.—But our space is exhausted.

## ERRATA.

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- Page 127, line 10 from bottom, after "Lincoln's Inn Fields" *add* London.  
 129, line 24, dele "very largely."  
 131, line 17, *for* "Editor" *read* Edition.  
 139, last line but one, *for* "second edition" *read* sixth.









